

THE EXPOSITOR

VOL. I.

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FACTORS OF FAITH IN IMMORTALITY.¹

PREFATORY NOTE.

The *Drew Lectureship*, which is connected with Hackney and New College, provides for the delivery and publication of an annual lecture on *the Nature and Destiny of the Soul*. The lecture is to have some special reference to personal immortality. The following pages represent with a few slight additions and modifications the lecture which was delivered in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on October 7, 1910.

THE term immortality has been applied in such various senses, and the thing meant by it has been conditioned in such various ways, that it is necessary to make clear from the outset the assumptions on which the following discussion proceeds. It takes for granted that there has been such a thing in human history as a belief in the immortality of man—a belief, at the very lowest, in the survival by the human being of the blank experience of death. It does not make any assumption as to the constitution of humanity, or of any of its parts or aspects, such as body or soul. It does not proceed upon a doctrine of personality or individuality, whether incipient or absolute, such as leads directly to immortality as its conclusion. Rather it may be described as purely empirical. It starts with the belief in immortality as it has actually emerged in human experience, and tries to discover the causes and motives to which it owes its origin, and the significance which such causes and motives have for us. If the faith justifies itself on such scrutiny, I do not say to any formal logic or to any metaphysical system, but to a human being

¹ The Drew Lecture for 1910, by the Rev. Prof. James Denney, D.D.

interested in life with its problems and necessities, it may throw light upon the nature of the soul ; but it does not seem to me hopeful to start with what we think the nature of the soul, and to deduce immortality from that. The soul reveals itself in its achievements, and surely it is one of its signal achievements that in a world in which nothing continues in one stay, and in which analogy is universally opposed to the idea, it has not only conceived but asserted its immortality.

The faith in immortality, as is well known, has existed in very various forms. In its primitive forms it is almost purely negative. It has its origin not in the ambition of man, nor in his sense of his own value, but rather in the impotence of his mind. He believes in the continuance of his being after death because he is incapable of forming such an abstract conception as that of his extinction. Broadly speaking we may say this is what we find in the earlier stages of religious history in races so unlike as the Hebrews and the Greeks. The Sheôl of the Old Testament and the House of Hades in the Odyssey both belong to this stage. In both there is a world beyond death in which existence is continued, but men do not believe in it or hope for it under the impulse of motives which have any meaning or any value for us. They believe in it only because they are unable to realise the alternative of annihilation. But they have no use for it. It is not a motive in life other than death itself would be. It has not to be won. It is not a reward or a punishment. Nothing is done in it ; it has no ethical character at all. It simply awaits men as a state from which life, meaning and value have departed, and it awaits them all alike. It does not need to be proved that faith in immortality, of this sort, has no power of conviction in it. It has no motive behind it which appeals to us, and it reveals, not the reach that

is in human nature, but the limitations of unexercised and undeveloped human faculty.

How the mind escaped from this negative and impotent relation to death it is perhaps impossible clearly to tell. But it did escape. Look at what can be seen in the history of a single race. The Homeric Greeks, as has just been said, could not think effectively of life as coming to an end. In a sense, no doubt, death was the end of it; but it continued after death, for ordinary men, in an inconsequent and meaningless fashion, which it would be quite inept to describe as a triumph over death. It was no triumph; death, not life, was the real victor. There was no such thing as immortality, as a hope for man: as Rohde says, no expression is less conceivable in Homer than "immortal souls." But in the sixth century before Christ, two or three centuries after Homer, we find another condition of mind widely prevalent in Greece. It is in most respects diametrically opposed to the Homeric. In Homer, the body is real and living, and it is only in union with it and its vital forces that the soul can enjoy what is truly life; in the Orphic poetry or religion it is the soul which lives; the body is a tomb or a prison in which it is confined, and man's chief end is to achieve his soul's deliverance from it. The soul is divine—it might not improperly be called a god which lives in man—and it only attains to freedom and to true life when it breaks the chains which bind it to the body. At the stage of reflexion which is here represented it is not so much a philosophy with which we are dealing as a religion, and we must not exaggerate its philosophic aspects. Many of its ideas passed over into philosophy and were manipulated and interpreted there, but essentially the movement of mind which produced them was religious, not speculative. With religion of this kind there naturally comes

a corresponding morality. It is not the morality of the citizen, who has the ends of his life here, political and social; it is the morality of the member of a church, who has the ends of his life in a region which transcends the state; it is a disciplinary or ascetic morality. Its characteristic ideas are those of purification and liberation: men who have come, through whatever experiences, to take this general look at life, wish to be purified from the defilement of the body and delivered from its burden. I do not mean to consider the value for this purpose which was attached to ritual or sacramental acts of various kinds. Practically the problem was very hard. Ascetic living such as some Orphic sects practised, abstaining, for example, from animal food, was not sufficient to secure the emancipation of the soul. Even natural death was not sufficient. Though the soul survived in separation from the body, the Orphic thinkers seem to have been unable to realise its disembodied state. They shared in the widespread belief which we know as transmigration, but which they usually called *παλιγγενεσία* or *μετενσωμάτωσης*, new birth, or the entrance into a new body. The process of purification was supposed to go on through the successive embodiments of the soul, and each new embodiment answered in its comparative dignity or degradation to the comparative failure or success of the soul in the previous stages of its task. But a trace of the old inability to deal effectively with the idea of death always remained. The Orphic sects had no positive or satisfying conception of what the soul's final emancipation meant. What they did represent with profound feeling of its truth was the idea that the soul is superior to the body and ought to be independent of it—that the body depresses and defiles the soul—that purity and emancipation from the body are ends for which men ought to strive. Something which

may quite fairly be called the immortality of the soul is involved in this whole mode of thought.

Every one must feel that, open to criticism as it is, this Orphic mode of conceiving the nature and destiny of the soul appeals to us as the Homeric does not. The reason of this is that it does not represent a mere limitation of human faculty, an incapacity in our nature for forming definite ideas ; it has experiences behind it to which we have the key, and motives to which our nature responds. No one will ever have any interest in immortality which counts—any interest which makes immortality a matter of moral consequence—apart from these experiences and from the appreciation of these motives. It is not possible, indeed, for us, to think of soul and body as so loosely related to each other as they were in the Orphic creeds, and transmigration, or the rebirth of the soul in another body, is accordingly incredible ; my body is the body of my soul, and my soul is the soul of my body ; but what corresponds to this Orphic distinction in our minds—corresponds to it in ethical import, of course—is the distinction between man and the world. The sense of the incomparable value of a person as compared with all things—the profound and immediate conviction that a person is absolutely distinct in kind from things and that his destiny is not involved in theirs—this, however it rises into consciousness, is one of the primary factors of faith in immortality. But it is reinforced here by a consideration which also appeals to us strongly. Man is essentially distinct from mere things, yet things exercise a strange tyranny over him. He is superior to the material and external world, yet it oppresses him, defeats him, humbles him at every turn. He is most conscious of this at the point at which he is in immediate contact with the world, his own body. It is there he finds concentrated and focussed all that thwarts,

defiles and degrades him. If he is ever to be himself, he must *achieve* himself; he must *win* his soul; he cannot take it for granted. That purged and emancipated life of the soul in which he recognises his true mode of being is a conditioned immortality; it is not there for everybody, but for those who fight, who discipline themselves, who endure and overcome. This is another primary factor of faith in immortality. Just as no one can understand such faith, or be in a position to appreciate it, who is not conscious that persons and things are incommensurable, and that to argue from things to persons is invalid, so no one can understand it, or be in a position to appreciate it, who is not conscious of moral obligations in comparison with which nothing in the world counts. Life itself is not to be weighed against them. This is the sense of the superiority of personality to things raised to a new power and intensity. In the common experience of our race we do not find anything that can be called the *natural* immortality of the soul, except that neutral and meaningless continuance of its existence represented by Hades and Sheôl; wherever there is *real* immortality, a continuance of existence which has meaning for us now, and by which death is overcome and deprived of its finality, it is morally conditioned. It may be a doom, or an achievement, but it belongs to the moral not to the physical world. Ideas like that of the indestructibility of the soul have never been factors of faith in immortality in any real sense. They have never functioned in real life so as to beget such faith. If they had, we might talk of natural or unconditional immortality; but so far as we know historically, positive and significant faith in immortality has always been conditioned in such ways as I have described. Just as no one can know the meaning of good or evil except by taking part in the life of a moral world, so no one can know whether

man is what we mean by immortal or not except by entering into the experiences in which men have been assured of the incomparable value of personality, and have felt themselves summoned to a life in view of which all transitory things lost their reality and their value at once. I do not propose it as an equivalent of the ideas into which the Orphic sects of Greece read the riddle of human nature, but the pith of them all, especially in relation to immortality, is in our Lord's question: What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose himself? It is out of the sense of his own value, as contrasted with that of the whole world, that a genuine hope of immortality springs for man; and if we wish to have such a hope we must cherish at once this sense of the value of man, in ourselves and in others, and of all the moral obligations which it imposes. These, I repeat, are primary factors of faith in immortality.

Orphic ideas about the soul and its destiny reappear, though without much reflexion upon them, in many of the earlier thinkers of Greece. They can hardly be said to be native to philosophy: they are borrowed by the philosophers from the priests. It is not till we come to Plato that we find a genuinely philosophical discussion of the subject. Whatever we may think of its historical or speculative importance, the *Phaedo* is a supreme work of art, and it is as much through the immediate impression which it makes upon us in this character as through a minute study of its arguments that we can discover the factors of Plato's faith in immortality. Partly, it is evident, the Orphic ideas have done their work. The speakers and the audience alike have been brought up to believe in the value and the immortality of the soul: that is the orthodoxy which they would naturally profess. But it is challenged at the moment by the presence of death.

Objections to it cannot be evaded or treated lightly : if it is to be justified or defended it must be with all seriousness and truth. The formal argument in which Socrates vindicates the immortality and indestructibility of the soul hardly interests us. It is like what is called the ontological argument for the being of God : it either proves nothing, to the simple mind, or it proves nothing interesting or relevant. The soul—so it runs—is that to the essence of which it belongs to live, just as to the essence of duality evenness belongs, or to the essence of the triad oddness ; hence life and soul are inseparable, and soul can never die. It is difficult to lean one's weight on this, and fortunately it is not necessary. What is of greater importance is to notice, as we can do indirectly, the motives which prompted the construction of such questionable aids to faith. It is in these motives, and not in the arguments contrived to support them, that the real factors of the belief in immortality are seen. One is formally connected with Plato's theory of ideas. The ideas—truth, goodness, beauty, for example—do not belong to the transient and sensible world, but to a world which is supersensible and abiding. But the soul has an affinity for these ideas, a latent affinity it may be ; it is in the soul to apprehend them, to appreciate them, in some way or other to become identified with them and to share their transcendent and immutable being. The soul's state in the body is unequal to its true nature, and the aim of the philosopher is by a daily dying to the body to attain—or, as Plato would say, to get back—to its true state. Philosophy is the soul's occupation with universal and eternal objects, and a being which can occupy itself with such objects is surely not destined to a merely temporary life. As Plato's philosophy was vital as well as abstract there is a real affinity between this and the religious idea that

it is in communion with an eternal God that man is raised above his own mortality. The motive to faith, the impulse which originates and sustains it, is the dawning sense of a kinship with the divine, asserting itself as the soul becomes conscious that in philosophy and science it can give itself to absolute ends unaffected by time. There is an incongruity in the idea that such a being should die as the brute creatures die. But there is more than this in the *Phaedo*. The faith in immortality is connected also with Plato's belief in the moral government of the world. True philosophers are completely freed from the body by death, and enter at once on the blessed life of pure souls. But the bad would have too good a bargain if for them death was the end of all. Plato knows quite well the limitations of his knowledge here, and that he is mythologising when he borrows the Orphic idea of transmigration to embody his moral convictions as to the future of wicked or imperfect men; but he knows also that the moral law extends into this region, and inspires our faith as well as shapes our thoughts about it. The moral sense of what the soul deserves, as well as the philosophic sense of what it is, are essential factors of his faith in its future. Both of these, however, and much more to which it is not easy to give abstract expression, are concentrated in the one great argument for immortality which the *Phaedo* presents, namely Socrates. It is not the dialectic which impresses us, but the person and the character. In such a presence we feel the indignity of death. It is monstrous that brute necessities should sentence such a being to extinction—that nature should assert itself, as it were in lawless violence, against such a spirit. This, of course, is a value judgment, and from this point of view it may be said that what we find in the *Phaedo* is not so much arguments for the immortality

of the soul as a demonstration or exhibition of the immortality of Socrates. And I believe this is the truth. What we find is the picture of a human being so wonderful that in his presence a mind which sees and feels what he is cannot but bestir itself to assert against the arrogance of death the might and value of the soul. The process may not be absolutely convincing, but surely the motive is intelligible. We may say, if we will, that it only leads to pragmatist convictions, and to conditional immortality; but pragmatist convictions may be all that are open to us in the way of experience, and if unconditioned immortality is only the meaningless inability to think death which we have looked at in Sheôl and Hades, we need not be scared by the words. It is the whole moral phenomenon which impresses us in the *Phaedo*, and unless we are impressed by it as Phaedo himself was, we shall never understand the factors of Plato's faith in immortality. "I had a singular feeling," Phaedo says, "at being in his company. For I could hardly believe that I was present at the death of a friend, and therefore I did not pity him, Echecrates; his mien and his language were so noble and fearless in the hour of death that to me he appeared blessed. I thought that in going to the other world he could not be without a divine call, and that he would be happy, if any man ever was, when he arrived there; and therefore I did not pity him as might have seemed natural at such an hour." Only, I repeat, when this impression is renewed in us can we do justice to Plato's arguments. They are convincing only so far as each of them is the reflexion of something in Socrates—his devotion to universal and eternal truth, his kinship (to put it so) with the divine, his absolute recognition of moral law. There the motives lie which alone give interest to arguments for immortality, because they beget them; and wherever

there is real faith in immortality, not a nominal inherited belief or traditional orthodoxy in the matter, these are factors of it.

No new light, or none of importance, is cast on our subject either by the faith or the scepticism of the ages succeeding Plato. But one point ought to have particular attention. In the *Phaedo*, as in the Orphic type of thought in general, an absolute distinction is drawn between the soul and the body. It is the soul which is immortal, and the soul is only a part of man. Further reflection seemed to make it doubtful whether even the whole soul could be immortal—the soul, that is, with all the determinations and qualifications which constitute its individuality. As far as it could be identified with, or regarded as akin to, the universal soul or *anima mundi*, it was immortal; but so far as it was the seat of emotions and passions it was determined by transitory things and could only be transient like them. As soul it was immortal; but not as *my* soul, or *yours*, or *his*. In Philo, for example, who is typical here, it is only the higher part of the soul, variously designated πνεῦμα, νοῦς, διάνοια, λόγος, or τὸ λογικόν, which is immortal. All that goes to constitute individuality, to distinguish one man from another, is necessarily under the ban of death. In the world of science in which the philosopher lives you have to discount the personal equation, and the personal equation here means everything by which any man is distinguished either from God or from his neighbour. Science and philosophy deal only with universal and eternal truth, and no such personal *differentiae* can enter into their sphere.

A philosophy like this may use the language of faith, and speak of the immortality of the soul, but it wholly fails to do justice to what this expression means in ordinary use. The immortality, for example, in which Plato was

interested, and in which through the *Phaedo* he interests us, is not the immortality of soul ; it is in some sense or other the immortality of Socrates. He had convictions and motives which made it practically impossible for him to believe that death could extinguish such a being ; and whatever the worth of these convictions or motives may be, it is no satisfying of them to be told—and this is all that in some philosophers is meant by immortality—that science and virtue are eternal, and that in their eternal life the soul, so far as it is at one with them, is beyond the reach of death. The abstractions which we call science and virtue, or universal and eternal truth, or reason and law, are not more real than man, and it is not for man to be intimidated by their imposing names. We do not rise into a higher world when we attach ourselves to such abstractions and leave behind us the concrete universe in which real human beings live and pass through real experiences. What we do is to lapse from an ethical to a non-ethical view of man ; in other words, we pass into a region where some at least of the most potent factors of faith in immortality are out of our sight. This is what is done by all philosophies and religions which offer us the eternity of the spirit as an equivalent or a substitute for the immortality of man. There have been many such in all nations and in all ages—Hindu, Greek, and modern ; and all that can be said of them is that they are neither equivalents of the faith in immortality, nor substitutes for it ; they are simply irrelevant to it, because they ignore in the main the impulses in which it originates. The eternity of spirit, if we can tell what that means, may be a presupposition of the immortality of man, but it is not the same thing. Some kinship with eternal spirit may be indispensable, some native and indefeasible kinship even, if the soul, or—to use less compromising language—if man,

is to be capable of immortality ; but something different from this, something conditioned by the convictions and motives already so often referred to is meant, when we speak of the hope of immortality as a power which has actually come to birth in the human race, and operated to moral ends in human life.

It would be tempting to survey the religions in which death and what comes after death has a great place, and to examine the motives to which their peculiar character is due. Among these religions those of Persia and Egypt are conspicuous. But it is impracticable to do this here, and I content myself with a single remark. While the faith in immortality can always be connected in its origin with distinctly ethical interests—while it never receives any development except under moral motives—there seems to be a tendency in religions to moral degeneration, and to the provision for their devotees of other than moral means of dealing with situations which have no being nor significance except as moral. The inexorable and the absolute of the moral world are negotiated somehow. It was moral sense which evoked for the Egyptian the future he could not shun ; but a great part of his religion consisted of rites, mysteries, sacraments, by which the moral sense was drugged, and moral situations managed by non-moral means. The truth is, that when it originates spontaneously under the co-operation of such factors as we have seen to enter into it, the outlook on immortality may be a fear as well as a hope, and the immoral sophistries by which men bemuse and stupefy conscience in this world may be extended from it into the next. This does not prove, however, that immortality is an illegitimate conception which ought not to have had a place in religion at all, and which can only act as a demoralising force. What it proves is that faith in immortality, where it exists at all,

cannot exist as dead matter, so to speak ; it is vitally connected with man's life and character as a whole, and is affected in its quality by all the influences which make him what he is.

From these general considerations I pass now to look at the faith in immortality as it appears in our own religion. I use the expression to cover the whole of the experiences recorded in the Old Testament and the New, and also in the books of the Greek Bible which partly fill the interval between them. At a first glance we might think the two stages in the history of our religion were strongly contrasted in the very matter with which we are dealing. In the Old Testament, it may be said, immortality is conspicuous by its absence ; we search for it, and search again, and usually (it would seem) in vain. In the New Testament it is as conspicuous by its presence. It dominates everything. It is what is meant in the New Testament by hope. What Christ has done is to vanquish death and to bring life and immortality to light. It is a deeply felt summary of the gospel which says, " We have worn the image of the earthly man, and we shall wear the image of the heavenly." Yet though it is not till we reach the New Testament that we see this hope full blown, the factors which enter into it are at work in the Old Testament : the blossom, so to speak, is being prepared beneath the soil.

It is not trifling to say that the Bible doctrine of the creation of man underlies the Bible faith in his immortality. " God created man in his own image." Without pretending to define this too narrowly, we may surely say that it expresses the sense of man's affinity to God. It expresses also the sense of man's worth to God. The place which man has in the creation is all his own ; he is not only the consummation of nature but its sovereign ; it is given to him for his inheritance, and he has a value to God which is in-

commensurable with the value of all created things. This is latent in his creation in the divine image, and it is strictly parallel to what we have seen elsewhere enter as a primary factor into the belief in immortality. But in Scripture it long remains latent. The interest of the Old Testament is not in man's aspirations towards God, but in God's condescension, His approach, His redemption of man. Its central conception is that of God's covenant with His people. God really and historically enters into or establishes such a covenant. Within its conditions God and His people form one society. God is not shut out of the human world, but enters into it and finds in His people the instruments for the achievement of His purposes on the earth. The people, on the other hand, are not shut up to a merely natural or secular existence, to a life in things which perish while they use them; they are partakers in a divine life, and fellow-workers with God in a work which can never perish. The historians of Old Testament religion have marked the distinction between the period when the nation existed and was the proper subject of religion and its hopes, and the later period when the dissolution of the nation gave importance to the individual and his relation to God. It is only at this later stage that the faith in immortality emerges with any definiteness. For the purpose in hand I do not think it is of much consequence to trace the foreign influences, Iranian or other, which may have helped to put this faith into particular forms. The forms are not the main thing, but the conviction which found expression in them, and that conviction, there is no reason to doubt, was native to Israel, and rooted in experiences of God. An original affinity of the human and the divine, such as is asserted in the doctrine of the creation of man in the divine image, is or may be presupposed in such experiences; a being for whom

God cares, as in the experience of pious Israelites he cared for them, must be one akin to God and dear to Him. But the experience of God's love in life, a providential and redeeming love, of which man was as sure as he was of his life itself, is the primary and the ultimate factor in the faith of immortality as it appears in the true religion. It is God's demonstrated and experienced goodwill to man on which a hope of such inconceivable daring rests.

It is not possible to exaggerate the importance of this at any stage of the true religion. The high water mark of faith, in the Old Testament and the New alike, touches this very point. Men did not at first grasp all that was implicit in the faithful and loving providence of God. They did not dream of what it was in the love of God to give and in the soul of man to receive. It was only by degrees that the infinity of the divine goodness dawned upon them, and the unimagined possibilities of the nature on which it was so unweariedly and inexhaustibly bestowed. It was not every day nor every hour that they could realise it, but there were high hours in which great spirits were uplifted on it as on a tidal wave, and gave expression to it in deathless words. "Nevertheless, I am continually with thee : Thou hast holden my right hand. Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory. Whom have I in heaven but Thee ? And there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee. My flesh and my heart faileth ; but God is the strength of my heart and my portion for ever." There are scholars, as every one knows, who exclude immortality from this sublime utterance. It must be admitted that there is no doctrine of immortality in it. There is no express statement in it that man is immortal, or even that the soul of the pious man is so ; there is no doctrine in it of any kind. But there is an experience in it of the perpetual presence, love

and power of God, and a triumphant hope and assurance based on this experience, that nothing can ever come between God and the sinner ; a hope and assurance which are the very nerve of faith in immortality where that faith is most explicit, and which seem to me unquestionably to rise to the height of that faith here. The words, in short, are on a level with the words of Jesus in John x. 27—on a level, I mean, as indicating the same ultimate factor in the faith in immortality : “ My sheep hear my voice, and I know them and they follow me : and I give unto them eternal life : and they shall never perish, and no one shall snatch them out of my hand. My Father, which hath given them unto me, is greater than all, and no one is able to snatch out of the Father’s hand.” “ *No one is able to snatch out of the Father’s hand* ” : there, in the true religion, is the primary factor of immortal faith. It is the same in the wonderful passage in which Paul gives inspired and adoring expression to what the redeeming goodness of God has wrought into his mind : “ I am persuaded that neither death nor life, nor angels nor principalities nor powers, nor things present nor things to come, nor height nor depth nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.” It is just as true to say of this passage, as of the one from the 73rd Psalm, that it does not teach immortality. Neither of them teaches anything at all. Neither the Psalmist nor the apostle, as they wrote, breathed in a region where philosophical theorems or theological doctrines were of any interest : but each of them put his whole soul into the utterance of an experience of God which neutralised all that either life or death could do to separate him from the divine love. This is the only real form in which faith in immortality can exist. Whether immortality itself is conditional or not, such faith

in it is assuredly conditioned. It is conditioned not speculatively but practically. It is conditioned by an overwhelming experience of the love of God—a love intimate, patient, redeeming, the first and last of all realities to the soul.

From the point of view of the true religion, therefore, which (as we have seen) is essentially the same, so far as immortality is concerned, in the Old Testament and in the New, there is something beside the mark in a challenge addressed to religion from without to defend this element of its faith. It is not the primary duty of religion to be ready with a doctrine of man or of the soul in which the most rank outsider may see that immortality is necessarily involved in premises which he cannot dispute. Immortality is not an implication of some philosophical conception of the soul; so far as it has a vital place in religion, it is an inference from a peculiar experience of God. The business of religion is not to give a demonstration that man is immortal, independent of this experience; it is to propagate the experience out of which the faith in immortality springs. There is no way to produce such faith but so to preach the revelation of God that that assurance of his love will take possession of the heart which makes death impotent. Reduced to its simplest terms, the question of immortality is the question of how much God will give, and how much man is able and willing to receive; and it cannot be conceived, much less discussed, by those to whom God and man, and the interrelation and interaction of the human and the divine, are unreal. The biologist who answers it in the negative, from the plane of his own science, is wasting his time. No one believes in immortality on that plane: all the essential factors of faith are given in an experience in which physics and biology are already transcended.

The history of the true religion, however, enables us

to speak of this with more precision. The hope of immortality had a legitimate birth in Old Testament times : it awoke in hearts profoundly impressed with the friendship of God. But for long it filled only a comparatively small place in the spiritual life. What, apparently, was needed to vitalise it, to make it contagious, to raise it to a high power among the constituents of religion, was an experience which would compel men to take the idea of friendship with God in all seriousness. Such an experience came through persecution for religion. The great monument of this in the Old Testament is the Book of Daniel. Written during the persecution of the faithful Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, it breathes the spirit of the time. The Lord's battle is raging, and it is written to encourage those who are on the Lord's side. The Lord's victory is eventually sure, and the conviction forms inevitably in pious hearts that those who have fallen in the good fight will not be excluded from the victory when it comes. It is in Daniel, the Old Testament book of martyrs, that we have the clearest proclamation of immortality. "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake : some to everlasting life, some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever." This is the temper of the Maccabæan period, in which the belief in immortality became a piece of orthodox Jewish religion ; it is the temper also of the Christian religion, in the age of Nero and Domitian, as we see it reflected in the New Testament apocalypse ; and of other persecuting and suffering epochs, like the Covenanting one in Scotland. If there could be such a being as a mere spectator, or, as it is sometimes said, an impartial spectator, of the moral conflict going on in the world, he might easily be sceptical of immortality ; *ex*

hypothesi, the factors which enter into and produce faith in it are unknown to him. But the martyrs are not sceptics. And they do not die, really, because they believe in immortality—though once immortality has become a commonplace of faith it may be put so ; immortality is revealed and becomes sure to them because they find it in their hearts to lay down life itself for God.

JAMES DENNEY.

(*To be continued.*)

THE JÂHÛ TEMPLE IN ELEPHANTINE.¹

THE last century has been a period of discovery in the history of the ancient East. The earth has been forced to give forth her treasures ; old writings have been deciphered, and the stones have begun to speak ; an entire past world has arisen before our astonished gaze. But (until the present moment), the Old Testament has had too small a share in the great discoveries. For some time past the soil of Palestine has been diligently dug and searched. Yet, though remains have been found of various ancient civilisations, documents have, as yet, been few. We have still gained all our knowledge of David and Solomon from the Bible. We have had the Israelite-Moabite inscription of King Mesa ; and one book was recently found of the later period, the volume of Jesus-Sirach, in its Hebrew dialect. But now, for the first time, Jewish papyrus writings, of the later Persian period, have come to light, and amongst these one which has excited interest far beyond the circle of "savants." It refers to an episode in Jewish history, hitherto unknown, and confirms several important suppositions concerning the life of the nation.

The site of the discovery is the extreme south of ancient

¹ From *Deutsche Rundschau*. Paetel, Berlin. Translated by Mary Gurney, with additions by the author.

Egypt, where two fortresses are placed near together at the north of the Nile Cataract, to protect the frontier towards Nubia. The two are "Syene," now Assuan (in Aramaic Sewan); and Elephantine (in Egyptian "Abu," "Ibu," or "Ib," that is "ivory"), so named because the city was the headquarters for the sale of ivory, imported from the South; in Aramaic "Jeb." A year previous, ten well preserved documents were published by Sayce and Cowley; they were found at Assuan,¹ whither they had been brought from Elephantine. These were written in Aramaic, and were dated in the years 471 to 411 B.C., in the reigns of Xerxes, Artaxerxes I. and Darius II. They represent family archives, and treat of matters relating to property and possessions, and had evidently been carefully preserved (probably in an earthen vessel) in case of counter-claims. The names are Jewish. Thus we can trace the fortunes of a Jewish family far away in the south of Egypt, at the Persian period. The documents give a clear picture of the circumstances of the Jewish colony in Elephantine. We realise the narrow and tangled streets of the Egyptian fortress, bisected by the King's Way. In these streets the Jews lived, together with Nubians² from the vicinity, native Egyptians, the ruling Persians, and immigrants from other lands, such as Arameans and Babylonians. The Jews used the Aramean language for business, it being at that time in the West the language of trade, and also of official life. The language and civilisation of the Aramaic-speaking peoples reached Palestine; Judæo-Aramaic tales and songs have been found, and await publication. The Jews of Jeb are likely to have known the language of their fathers only as a sacred tongue.

The Jews had much intercourse with the strangers

¹ *Aramaic papyri discovered at Assuan.* A. H. Sayce. London, 1906.

² Herodotus, iii. 19.

amongst whom they dwelt; they traded, carried on lawsuits, and even intermarried; they had natives as slaves. Their religious views were sometimes affected. We read of a woman who is asked to swear by the Egyptian Goddess Sati (wife of Anubis, god of the district), and does so; they also made proselytes. The same woman converted her second husband, an Egyptian, to the Jewish religion. Nationalities became intermixed by political circumstances, or by voluntary emigrations, and thus an understanding was arrived at between the various religions; an important fact for the explanation of later Jewish history, and also of the early history of Christianity.

How were the Jews maintained in Jeb? We read that they pursued trades, bought and sold houses and building sites; they also lent money, and were remarkably skilled in legal matters. But to other calling of the Jews, such as agriculture or industry, is mentioned. It has been supposed that the Jews first settled in Elephantine as soldiers; and the Greek Aristæus writes that Ptolemy Lagus brought Jews with him to Egypt, armed them, and placed them in defence of fortresses. It is possible, however, that these Jews were only traders, trading between the frontier and the garrison towns; all that can be certainly said is that each Jewish family must have had an especial connexion with some Persian officer or official, to stand surety for its good behaviour. The Jews had a temple¹ (Agûrâ) with an altar, dedicated to their God, Jâhû. The name Jâhû presents a difficult problem; it appears constantly in the documents in place of the name Jahve, given in the Old Testament, and also in the inscription of the Moabite king, Mesa.

¹ Some authorities do not regard Agûrâ as a dwelling, but only as a temporary abode.

In the matter of language, the papyri give us a peculiar form of Aramaic, connected with the Old Aramaic, and also a number of Persian, Egyptian, and Babylonian names. The writings are composed in finished official style, proving a developed business life in the Aramaic-speaking world ; the legal principles showing also the influence of Egyptian and of Babylonian law. The days and months are dated by the Jewish Babylonian as well as by the Egyptian calendar, the years by the reigns of the Persian kings, and afford a number of valuable synchronisms.

All this is, however, cast into shade by the papyrus lately discovered on the site of the ancient Jeb by Dr. Rubensohn, and now placed in the Berlin Museum. It comes from the archives of the Jews at Jeb, and gives a glimpse into the history of their temple.¹ The original must have been copied several times in old days ; two copies have been found, one incomplete. A third and fourth portion also refer to the same event ; one of these was published in 1903 by Professor Euting.² All these papyri, whether private or official, belong to the same period, as is shown by dates and names, and they explain one another.

We shall first deal with the text of the earliest temple document, with a short explanation. It begins with an inscription, the address being at the head ; all written in the distinct style already familiar to us. "To Our Lord Bagôhî, ruler of Juda, thy servant—Jedonja, with his colleagues—the priests in the fortress of Jeb."

Bagôhî, the Persian Governor of the small province of Judea, is known in Josephus as Bagoses, the governor of Judea under Artaxerxes II. (404–358). Our document was composed in the years 408–7, under Darius II. Nothos

¹ Sachau, *Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine*. Berlin, 1907.

² *Notice sur un Papyrus Egypto-Aramien*. M. J. Euting. Paris, 1903.

(424-404). Bagoses (or Bagôas) therefore held his office under various sovereigns. He was one of the successors of Nehemiah. We read in Josephus that, during the reign of Artaxerxes II. Bagôas laid a fine upon the temple, at a time when the High Priest John had slain his own brother, who had been conspiring with Bagôas. The High Priest Jehôchânân of Jerusalem is also mentioned in our document. The name Bagôas is Persian.

The document is compiled by the Jewish priests, their head being Jedonja, who may therefore be considered the High Priest of Jeb. His name occurs frequently in the private documents already mentioned. The Jews in Elephantine were a religious community, and were governed by priests, as in Palestine. After the fall of the State, only priestly authority remained.

The benediction, usual in letters, then follows. "May our God, the God of Heaven, bless thee richly, and for all time ! May He grant thee increase of grace a thousandfold, before King Darius, and before the Princes of the Royal house, with length of life. Be ever glad, and of good health."

Pathetic words of blessing, showing the desire of the writers to obtain the favour of Bagôas, and their consciousness that his chief concern must be to gain grace with the Autocrat and his Princes, he being entirely dependent on the favour of his rulers. The Princes with the King are named also in the Persian records in the Aramaic language contained in the book of Ezra (chapter vi. 10, and vii. 23), where the writers, as was usual, name their God "the God of Heaven," this title having been long used by the Jews when attempting to explain their religion to the heathen, in order to indicate that the Jewish God was "the highest God" of the nations. There seems to have been an unwritten law amongst the Jews, that the name should be

especially used in addressing Persians (who prayed to the "God of Heaven") with the view of gaining advantages for the Jewish religion by a suggestion that the two nations worshipped the same God. Darius ordered the building of the temple at Jerusalem to "The God of Heaven," and Artaxerxes I. commanded Ezra to carry out the law of "The God of Heaven in Judah," see Ezra (chap. v. 11, vi. 10, and vii. 12, 23). It was hoped that Bagôas, also, would not close his ear against the priest of "The God of Heaven." The wish at the end of the letter, "Be glad and of good health," corresponds exactly to the formula required in Egypt to follow the name of Pharaoh.

"Further, thy servants Jedonja, and his colleagues, speak thus: 'In the month Tammûz, in the 14th year of King Darius, when Arsham had departed, and had gone to the King, the priests of the God Chnûb, in the fortress of Jeb, made a conspiracy with Waidrang, who was then Governor, to destroy the temple of the God Jâhû in the fortress of Jeb.'"

This event happened in the month of "Tammûz," named from a Babylonish god (the Phœnician Adonis); the name having spread through the East, with the Babylonian calendar. The time is nearly identical with our July. The year is 411-410. The conspiracy was formed, as is repeated again, when Arsham (evidently the Persian governor of Egypt) was absent at the Persian Court. The writers do not complain of their satrap; it being distinctly stated that the conspiracy originated with the priests of Chnûb. In Elephantine stood a celebrated sanctuary of the ram-headed Chnûb (in Greek Anubis) honoured as God of the Cataracts, a shrine visited by the Nubians also since the conquest of the South by Egyptians. Chnûb was originally the chief god of the district, but in later times was superseded on the island of Philæ, on account of the vicinity of

the sanctuary of Isis. The mummies of the sacred rams of Anubis have been recently discovered in their granite sarcophagi. We see here that the priests of the god had a hatred against the neighbouring temple of Jâhû. The newly-introduced god excited their jealousy by alienating their followers ; we may remember the case of the Egyptian induced by his wife to become a Jew. It has been explained by commentators that the Jews offered chiefly rams to their God ; these animals were sacred to Chnûb, and were deemed inviolable by his worshippers. Therefore the ram offerings of the Jews excited the fanaticism of the Chnûb priests !

The Persian satrap had hitherto protected the Jâhû temple ; it was in his absence that the Chnûb priests ventured their attack. We know that the Jâhû priests fully returned the animosity ; they did not bestow the title of Priest on their opponents, but made use of an expression, common in Aramaic, but implying contempt in the mouth of a Jew. The Jewish nation felt themselves far superior to the heathen in the matter of religion, and expressed the feeling without reserve ; this is the chief reason for their unpopularity amongst the nations with whom they came in contact. An underling, the Governor of Jeb, united with the Chnûb priests. His name, "Waidrang," is Persian, but its meaning and pronunciation are uncertain. We are ignorant of his motives ; the records state that he was bribed by the priests.

"Thereupon this cursed Waidrang sent a letter to his son, Nephâjân, who was colonel in the fortress of Sewên, saying that the temple in the fortress of Jeb must be destroyed."

Waidrang, himself a civilian, sent for help to his son, who was colonel in the neighbouring Syene. Judging by the expression used, the temple of Jâhû appears to have been the only temple in the precincts of the fortress ; implying

that the Jews, or at any rate their forefathers, must have been soldiers.

“Then Nephâjân brought Egyptian and other troops; they, having weapons, entered the fortress of Jeb, forced their way into the temple, and razed it to the ground.”

The troops who acted thus were Egyptians, the Persians being accustomed to raise native levies; we hear of Egyptian soldiers from the military caste as being employed in the marine.¹ Here native fanaticism was utilised against the foreign temple.

“They broke the stone pillars which were there; they also destroyed the five gateways hewn out of stone which were in the temple, and the doors with bronze hinges; the roof, entirely constructed of cedar beams, and the remaining furniture, they burned with fire. The golden and silver vessels for sprinkling, and the utensils in the temple, they carried away, and appropriated.”

This description is so detailed, because the petitioners desired that their temple should be re-erected like it had been, which actually occurred. The account is interesting to ourselves, and indicates the great wealth of these Jews. They could procure blocks of stone for the building of doors and pillars from the world-renowned stone quarries of Syene, especially in Elephantine:² their riches also enabled them to procure beams of cedar-wood from remote Lebanon to the borders of Nubia: and we know that such beams were brought by the Egyptians, from the report found some time ago of the Egyptian priest Wen-Amon, who fetched beams from the Phœnician city of Byblos. The Jewish temple possessed silver bowls used for the sprinkling of blood,³ or for the mixing of the meal-offering.⁴ These we suppose to have been very heavy and valuable; in Jewish legend a silver bowl is

¹ Herodotus, vii., 8, 9; viii. 17; ix. 32.

² Herodotus, ii. 175.

³ Zech. ix. 15.

⁴ Num. vii. 13.

mentioned weighing 70 shekels. One motive for the destruction of the temple may therefore have been greed. The Book of Esther presupposes that the Jews in the eastern provinces of the Empire must have been very rich at a later period. Did the State help in the building and furnishing of the Temple, as appears possible with a military colony ? It is not clear whether the stone pillars were supports to the building, or sacred symbols, like the two symbolic pillars standing before the Temple of Solomon. This had only one doorway, whilst the Temple of Jeb had five, a proof that the old temple at Jerusalem was not exactly copied in the newer building ; an important fact as showing the frame of mind of the founders ; they did not yet believe that the house of God at Jerusalem was the only true place of worship, or normal type of building, although these views became a dogma after the exile. It is further remarkable that no Jew appears to have perished in the destruction of the temple at Jeb, else this would have been recorded by the writers. Evidently no opposition had been risked to the superior might of the heathen. On the other hand, we read in Joel iii. 19 (a passage written about the period of our document) that the Egyptians had attacked the Jews and had shed innocent blood. Thus occasional murder of the Jews occurred. We now comprehend the causes of hatred ; and the atrocities were probably committed in the following decades, when Egypt had thrown off the Persian yoke.

“ In the days of the Kings of Egypt, our fathers had built this Temple in the fortress of Jeb ; when Cambyeses conquered Egypt, he found the temple already built. He destroyed the temples of the gods of the Egyptians, but this temple was not injured.”

The history of the Temple is now related, to show that protection had long been bestowed by the Persian rulers. The account may be considered authentic as relating to the

Jews, for the papyri show that there was an archive in the temple of Jeb, giving these people accurate information of its origin. In like manner, in Ezra v. 11, the elders of Jerusalem relate the history of their sacred edifice from the documents in the archive. The temple of Jeb was built before the Persian invasion, that is before 525, and when Egypt had her own kings. At the time of its destruction this temple had therefore existed more than 115 years. The last kings of Egypt were Apries (588-70), Amasis (569-26), and Psammeticus III. (525). We read in the book of Jeremiah that (after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans in 586) many Jews took refuge in Egypt. Contrary to the advice of the aged prophet, they settled in the Delta cities of Migdol and Tahpanhes (or Daphnae) in Nôph (or Memphis) and in the land of Patros (or Upper Egypt); that is in all parts of the country (see Jeremiah xlii. to xliv.). These immigrants must have been well received; the Jewish State, before its calamities, having been in treaty with the Egyptians. They must have met with other Jews whose families had inhabited the foreign country for centuries past, when the rich land of Egypt had been overrun by Canaanites. We even find in Deuteronomy xvii. 16 a distinct prohibition against the return to Egypt. In those early days the Jews sought Egypt for purposes of trade; thus the Jewish state procured horses from Egypt; the law before the captivity forbade the monarch to buy many horses and thus to lead his people back (Deut. xvii. 16). The letter by Aristæus further relates that Psammeticus II. (594-589) had enlisted Jewish soldiers as allies in his campaign against the Ethiopians. In Isaiah xi. 11 (a passage added to the original version) there is mention of Jews in Lower Egypt, and even in Ethiopia. In Isaiah—chap. xix.—we have a remarkable prophecy concerning Egypt. We read that there would be five cities in Egypt speaking the Canaanite tongue, and praying to Jehovah, the

God of Sabaoth—a prophecy hitherto applied to Hellenistic times ; but now there seems probability that it applies to a much earlier epoch. One of these colonies is the Jeb now known to us. But the “ Altar of Jahve ” referred to in verse 19 as in the midst of the Land of Egypt, cannot be “ Jeb,” which lay at the extreme south of the land. The prophecy is very remarkable, that Egypt should be converted to Jehovah ; the Egyptian Jews were then so numerous, and their propaganda was so active, that they set this hope before them. Though not fulfilled, it may explain the hatred of the priests of Chnûb.

When Cambyses conquered Egypt, he did not spare the Egyptian temples ; we read in Greek authors (as now corroborated) that he plundered the Egyptian temples, and derided the gods ; but we also know¹ that he did homage to “ Neit ” of Sais. In this matter, then, the papyrus appears to exaggerate in an interest which we can understand. The Jewish Temple of Jeb was not molested. Cambyses followed the same policy as Cyrus. Cyrus rebuilt the temple at Jerusalem, and Cambyses spared the temple of Jeb. The Jews, in Babylon, as in Egypt, understood how to gain the favour of the world’s conqueror for their God. Doubts have been thrown on the story of Cyrus rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem : this now appears less improbable. The favour shown by the Persians to the Egyptian Jews was repaid when revolt occurred. Euting’s document records, “ When the Egyptians revolted, we remained faithful to our lords, and no evil has been found in us.” From the text it appears that reference is made to a circumstance before the year 411–10. But it is not clear whether the revolt of Egypt is intended, suppressed according to Ed. Meyer in 454 (in which an Athenian army took part, under the leadership of the Libyan Princes

¹ Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Bd. iii. p. 101.

Inaros and Amyrtaios), or the great Egyptian struggle against the Persian Empire, which for two generations won the freedom of Egypt.

“After the deeds of Waidrang and the priests of Chnûb, we, with our wives and children, wore sackcloth, and we fasted and prayed to Jâhû, the Lord of Heaven.”

Upon the destruction of the Temple, the Jews began a great and universal religious mourning, as frequently described elsewhere ; many of the Psalms preserved to us were sung at these mourning festivals—for example, Psalms, lxxiv. lxxix., and xlv. relating to a similar catastrophe befalling the temple at Jerusalem. Whether these Psalms, as is generally supposed, were composed in the time of the Maccabees, may seem doubtful in the light of this new document from Jeb. The writing proceeds to show that soon there appeared a sign from the Lord of Heaven.

“He granted us a spectacle of joy regarding Waidrang ; the dogs tore the fetters from off his feet ; all the treasures which he had amassed were lost, and all the men were slain who had wished evil to the temple ; this we beheld with joy.”

Thus there was vengeance for the destruction of the temple, regarded by the Jews as a sign from their God, Who would not allow an attack on His sanctuary to go unpunished—we are reminded of the legend of Belshazzar in Daniel v. Waidrang is ignominiously slain, his body, still fettered, is given to the dogs as food, his spoil from the temple is taken from him ; the other offenders are also killed. We are not told by whom the Divine judgment is carried out, but we may suppose that the Persian armies arrived to repair the breach of peace, and that Arsham, the satrap, returned to Egypt, and punished the evil-doers. The unconcealed delight of the Jews at the destruction of their enemies recalls the joyful record of the fall of Haman, in the Book of Esther.

The document published by Euting appears to be a memorial of the men of Jeb to Arsham, describing the wrong done to them, nearly in the same words as our papyrus. They add that Waidrang was personally answerable for all their sufferings ; he had built up a wall, and the Chnûb priests had closed a well in the midst of the fortress, from which the soldiers also drank. Such was the address sent to Arsham.

But he neither rebuilt the temple, nor did he give permission to the Jews to rebuild it. The temple lay three years in ruins. The cause of the Persians' conduct is evident ; the destruction of the temple had revealed a fanatic hatred on the part of the natives against the sanctuary, and the Persians considered it wiser to add no fresh fuel to the flame. Here is an instructive illustration of Persian religious policy ; it sought for peace in the land, and endeavoured to steer a middle course between varied religious beliefs.

Finding only indifference from the Government of their province, the Jews turned to their mother-country. The presumption of such an appeal was that, notwithstanding long distances, the Jews held together all over the world and kept up communications and cherished solicitude for each other. As Nehemiah had used his influence at the Persian Court on behalf of Jerusalem, so the men of Elephantine hoped that the Jews in Canaan would feel for them.

“ Also at the time that this misfortune happened to us, we sent a writing to our lords, and also to Jehôchânân, the High Priest, with his colleagues, the priests of Jerusalem, to Ostân, the brother of Anâni, and to the nobles of the Jews ; but they returned no letter to us.”

The first application had been to the Persian Governor at Jerusalem, and he is now applied to for a second time ; showing the confidence felt in the righteousness of the Persian

and their protection of religions. As already pointed out, the Persian kings from the time of Darius and Cyrus endeavoured to spare the religions of their subjects, and to base power on the strength of organised religious bodies. But the Persian ruler had now refused to intervene. Application was therefore made to the Jewish authorities, the High Priest Jehôchânân, mentioned in Nehemiah xii. 22, with the other priests. Then follow the "Nobles of the Jews," the heads of the noble families named frequently by Ezra and Nehemiah, and sharing government with the priests. The head of these must have been Ostan, whose name (of Persian origin) is otherwise unknown to us. But even these disregarded the distress of the Jews of Elephantine. This can be readily understood. The inhabitants of Jerusalem had long held as a sacred dogma that their Temple was the only legitimate sanctuary of Jehovah. And they had every reason to maintain this dogma. In Jerusalem it was natural to wish that the temple should remain the only Jewish sanctuary, the central point of Judaism; and that Jews from the whole world should undertake pilgrimages to it. It was even hoped, that this temple would become the central point of the world (see Isa. ii. 2; Zech. xiv. 16). Thus the temple at Jeb was probably regarded with displeasure, and its destruction considered the righteous punishment of God; and the petitions of the Egyptian Jews were disregarded.

The Jews of Elephantine continued their lamentations for three years with true Jewish pertinacity.

"We have worn sackcloth, and have fasted since the "Tammûz" day of the 14th year of King Darius unto this day; our wives have become like unto widows; we have not anointed ourselves with oil, and we have drunk no wine."

The usual religious services were not celebrated.

“Also until the present day of the 17th year of King Darius no meal-offering, no offering of frankincense, or burnt offering, has been brought to the temple.”

The names of these offerings are interesting to us because they represent the offerings of earlier days. In Jerusalem a new Book of the Law had been lately introduced by Ezra, the so-called Priestly Code, in which sin and trespass-offerings are conspicuous. This book had not reached Egypt, yet the same sacrifices are mentioned in the Persian documents quoted in the book of Ezra.¹

Then follows the special petition. “Thy servants now speak, Jedonja with his companions, and the Jews, all citizens of Jeb. If it appear right unto my Lord, have regard to this Temple, to rebuild it, for we are forbidden to rebuild it. Behold us here in Egypt, who have received thy benefits and favours. We pray thee to send a letter to thy servants concerning the temple of the God Jâhû, that it may be rebuilt in the fortress in Jeb, as it was before.”

Then follow various undertakings.

“Then will we offer meal-offerings, frankincense, and burnt-offerings upon the altar of the God Jâhû in thy name; and at every time we, with our wives and children, and with all the Jews here assembled, will offer prayer for thee if this be so, until the rebuilding of this temple.”

The meaning is, that in case of his granting their request, they promise intercession for him till the restoration of the temple and subsequently offerings on his behalf. The decree of Darius is parallel, see Ezra vi. 10, that the temple of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and that prayer and sacri-

¹ Ezra vi. 3, vii. 17. This petition shows that the Egyptian Jews had already received favours from Bagôas. “We have received thy favours,” and therefore hope that the Persian ruler in Jerusalem will sympathise with the Egyptian Jews. It is not clear whether the desired aid is to be official, or from kindness of heart.

fice should be offered in it for himself and for his sons. In Egypt also had Persian kings offered and ordered sacrifices. And in Jerusalem in later times, the Jews sacrificed on behalf of the Seleucid kings as well as for Roman Emperors, until the rebellion broke out. It was hoped that Bagôas also, although a Zoroastrian, would value the favour of the God Jâhû; an observation pointing to the syncretism of the religions of the period.

“If thou continue thine aid, until the temple be rebuilt, thy deed will be acknowledged by Jâhû, the God of Heaven, with the gift offered unto Him of a whole offering, or part offering; thou shalt receive 1000 talents of silver.”

Thus the name of Bagôas would be introduced in all private sacrifices as the benefactor of the temple, and all offerings should be considered as sent by him. What blessings from the God Jâhû would fall upon the head of the Persian! The sum named is 1000 talents of silver! (£300,000.)

“As regards the gold, we have sent our message and communication.”

It has been suggested by Professor Sachau that perhaps these words imply that a sum of gold was sent with the writing, or promised within a short interval.

“All these things we have notified in our own letter to Delâjâ and Shelemjâ, the sons of Sanballat, ruler of Samaria.”

For safety's sake they wrote to two other distinguished persons. It may be remarked that the High Priest of Jerusalem was not selected. During the three years in which they had gazed anxiously towards their old home, the Jews had learned enough to know that no help could be expected from the priests of Jerusalem. Therefore they turn to the sons of Sanballat. This Sanballat, ruler of Samaria, is well known to readers of the Bible as the enemy

of Nehemiah, who endeavoured to hinder the building of the walls of Jerusalem. What a surprise to find his name here! By the mention of the name the date of our papyrus is fixed certainly in a decade of the reign of Darius II., and Nehemiah is placed in the reign of Artaxerxes I., Sanballat's conflict with Nehemiah being some decades earlier. At the date of our document Sanballat appears to have been no longer alive, as his sons are mentioned, and not himself; his son Delâjâ granted the request. The sons did not inherit the governorship from their father, but were regarded as distinguished men; and the leaders of the Samaritan community. They had names in Jâ; a proof that their father, though not of Jewish birth, yet felt himself a believer in Jahve; as may be gathered from the Book of Nehemiah (ii. 20). That these men were addressed was the result of shrewd calculation. The Samaritan community had long been at bitter enmity with the Jews of Jerusalem. As inhabitants of the former Northern Empire the Samaritans had observed with displeasure the rise of the Temple and city from ruin, and had done all in their power to frustrate the plans of the Jerusalem Jews, by means of denunciations to the Persian authorities, or other devices. They were deeply offended by the great pretensions of the men of Jerusalem, who considered themselves the only true believers in Jahve, abominated the "people of the land" as half-caste, and even forbade intermarriage with them. In previous years the Samaritans had organised themselves into a separate religious community. Their leader, who had been exiled from Jerusalem, was Manasseh, the brother of Jehôchânân, the son-in-law of Sanballat—and they had built their own temple in Sichem (see Nehemiah xii. 28). It can easily be understood that these men would gladly stretch out a hand to support the rival undertaking in Egypt, so hated by the Jerusalemites.

The incident once more exhibits the Jews hanging together, wrangling with each other, and thoroughly acquainted with each other's affairs. Evidently also Sanballat's sons had distinguished acquaintances in Egypt, and could aid, if willing.

"Arsham has known nothing of all that we have suffered."

They repeat this assurance, for had Arsham approved its destruction, Bagôas could not have aided the rebuilding of the temple.

"Dated 20 Marcheschwan (November), the 17th year of King Darius."

It is presumable that Bagôas granted the petition of the Jews of Elephantine, and saw to the erection of their temple, otherwise the document would not have been so highly prized; and it would not have been re-copied several times had not the right of the Elephantine temple rested upon it. A leaf, subsequently discovered, supports this view.

"A protocol, on the reports of Bagôhi and of Delâjâ" (Sanballat's elder son). The protocol follows.

"It is for thee to command in Egypt, before Arsham, concerning the Altar-House of the God of Heaven, which was built in the fortress of Jeb, before our days, and before Cambyases; and afterwards destroyed by the cursed Waidrang, in the 14th year of King Darius, that it be rebuilt on its own place, as it was before; meal-offering and frankincense to be again offered on the altar, as in ancient days."

This protocol is not the reply of the original writer, but is probably a private note, composed by the unknown messenger, in order to make sure of the import of his message. He may have been the same man whom the Jews of Jeb had sent to Jerusalem; writing, in joyful mood, after the happy termination of his visit; he knew that his temple would arise again. But one point of the petition was not granted; only meal-offerings and frankincense, but no

burnt-offerings, were to be brought to the new sanctuary: Our translators, Smend and Zidzbarski, assigned a reason for this restriction; the Judaic sacrifices of rams, which were regarded with unspeakable horror by the priests of Chnûb, were forbidden in order that peace might not be again disturbed. Yet the priests of Jerusalem had stirred no finger in aid. As the temple of Jerusalem was rebuilt by the great kings Cyrus and Darius, so the less famous temple of Elephantine was rebuilt by the intervention of a Persian ruler, and with the aid of a family who were no well-wishers to Jerusalem, and who, for that very reason, supported the Egyptian temple.

We have a further trace of the later fortunes of the temple. Under Ptolemy VI. (Philometor), Onias, a man from Jerusalem of highpriestly descent, about the year 160, with the consent of the king, built a Judæo-Egyptian temple at Leontopolis, in the northern part of the land at the south-east of the Delta: about 250 years after our document we read in Josephus ¹ that Onias, when founding this temple, made reference to disputes about sanctuaries between the Syrian and Egyptian Jews; he hoped to put an end to strife by building a new Egyptian temple. He therefore assumed that there had previously existed in Egypt one or more Jewish sanctuaries. Amongst the Egyptian Jews some revered these spots, but others looked only to the temple at Jerusalem. Was the sacred place in Elephantine one of those known to Onias, or had it been destroyed at an earlier date, during the great revolt of the Egyptians against the Persians? Josephus never refers to the older temple. As late as the time of Philo, Jews dwelt "as far as the borders of Ethiopia";² these must have been descendants of the men of Jeb.

¹ *The Antiquities*, xiii. 3.

² In Flaccum § 6, Mang. ii. 523.

In the consideration of our papyrus, we have traced the light thrown on various questions ; the religious policy of the Persian rulers, the frictions between the provincial religions, and the condition of the Jews in the Persian kingdom. It shows us especially for the first time the antiquity of the Egyptian Jewish colony ; afterwards to play such an important part under Greek and Roman rule. We realise that the history of the Jews, after the destruction of Jerusalem, extended over three areas, Babylon, Palestine, and Egypt. The document also throws light on Old Testament Scripture. We have in the strong resemblance of the language of these records to that of the official documents inserted in the Book of Ezra, a proof of the authenticity of the latter : we have also valuable references to the Jewish religion. The men of Jeb dared to build a new temple, unlike Solomon's temple, whilst Onias, centuries later, copied the temple of Jerusalem. Thus at Jeb there were pious men, faithful to their God, who did not know that there should be only one temple, that at Jerusalem. The law of Deuteronomy containing the command cannot have been generally understood. The marriages with other nations also, such as took place in Jeb, were forbidden in Deuteronomy, and strongly condemned by Ezra. And in the description of the decoration of the temple there is no mention of images, or of sacred symbols, with the exception perhaps of the pillars. Yet these were common in ancient Israel ; such traces of heathendom were banished later by the polemic of the Prophets.

HERMANN GUNKEL.

*THE OPENING SENTENCES OF WELLHAUSEN'S
"PROLEGOMENA."*

THE justly famous and epoch-making Prolegomena to the History of Israel, by J. Wellhausen, commences with the following sentences :

"As is known from the Gospel, the Jews and Samaritans in the time of Christ wrangled over the proper place where men should worship ; that there could be only one was no less certain in their minds than the unity of God Himself. The Jews said it was the Temple in Jerusalem, and after its destruction they ceased sacrificing."

The principle here formulated would doubtless have been regarded as orthodox in the first century A.D. ; for Philo and Josephus approve the doctrine "One God, one Temple," both basing it on grounds of natural fitness,¹ while Philo further argues that the principle involved furnishes a splendid test of the purity of the sacrificer's intentions ; for no one, unless he meant a pure sacrifice, would endure to leave home, friends and relations, and become a pilgrim and wanderer. The Samaritan woman indeed asserts the principle of the Jews only, not of her own people ; but the story told by Josephus² of the trial in Alexandria indicates that the Samaritan doctrine was the same. The identification of "worship" with "sacrifice" is also defensible ; for the former word means here literally "prostration," defined by Maimonides³ as "stretching out the hands and the feet till the whole body is on the ground," which is equivalent to kissing the ground, a mode of render-

¹ *C. Apion*, ii. § 23. *De Monarchia*, p. 223.

² *Archæology*, XIII. iii. § 4.

³ *Yad hachazakah*, "Rules of Prayer," § 5.

ing homage to sovereigns in use in some Oriental courts ; the Hebrew word probably signifies "to ask to live," and the ceremony is almost a pretended death. Similarly one theory of sacrifice is, clearly, recognition that the whole of the produce belongs to the Deity, who receives a part as a symbol for the whole. Kissing the ground naturally localises the ceremony, for the ground that should be kissed is what is near the sovereign's feet. Since the Jewish doctor quoted—of the twelfth century—recognises "prostration" as a constituent of prayer, and prayer is in general a substitute for sacrifice, it is noteworthy that a surrogate or substitute should serve in the one case but not in the other ; and indeed we learn from the Book of Daniel that so simple a surrogate as looking through an open window in the direction of Jerusalem would serve instead of prostration in the Temple area itself. Further, it may be observed that Jewish sacrifice (in a sense) seems to have terminated with the destruction of the Temple of Heliopolis, which outlasted that of Jerusalem by a short time ; and that Samaritan sacrifice went on at intervals many centuries after the destruction of their Temple on Gerizzim.¹

The theory of Philo, that pilgrimage was a test of faith, would apply to Christian or Moslem pilgrimage ; the former is a voluntary act of piety, the latter obligatory, but once in a lifetime. Ghazali (a Moslem Philo) regards it as a rehearsal of the Day of Judgment ; and some doctors have endeavoured to find some substitute for it, owing to the difficulty, danger, and loss of life which it occasions. In both these cases homelessness and loneliness are associated with pilgrimage. It does not appear that the Deuteronomic Code contemplated either accompaniment. The worshipper is represented as being at the place of pilgrimage with his household ;² "all the males" are to pay the three

¹ V. Guérin, *Samarie*, i. 442,

² xv. 20,

annual visits to it ; ¹ indeed it would seem that the assembled family is to include the Levite or temporary resident, ² who in any case is no actual member of the family.

Supposing that the Code speaks here of a single sanctuary for the whole nation, it is to be observed that the national frontier is put at the Euphrates ; ³ the nearest point of which to Jerusalem is reckoned by the Arabic geographers to be at a distance of 350 miles. Three times a year then all the males are to leave the frontier undefended, and undertake a journey which will occupy some thirty-five days. But for this only one day is allowed them ; for though they are to spend the night of the Passover at the Sanctuary, the rest of the days of the feast they are to spend at home. ⁴ This legislation then, if the theory "One God, one Temple" be really there, cannot be based on the principle suggested by Philo ; for the pilgrim by no means leaves his family, at least the males of it, and is only away from home at most a day. If it is a test of anything, it is a test of the power to crowd the work of thirty-five days into one.

He who consults the text on this subject will find the difficulty which meets him everywhere in the Old Testament : the want of MSS. of reasonable antiquity and authenticity. There are three editions, belonging to different communities, the Samaritan, the Jewish and the Hellenist ; and each tells a different tale.

The formula for the sanctuary or place of pilgrimage is, according to the Samaritan text, "the place which the Lord thy God has chosen," according to the Jewish "the place which the Lord thy God shall choose," according to the Hellenist "the place which the Lord thy God may choose." Although the difference between the Samaritan

¹ xvi. 16.

² xiv. 27.

³ xi. 24.

⁴ xvi. 6-8 (cf. LXX.).

and the Jewish texts is confined to one iota, it recurs too often for us to doubt that an important point of doctrine is at stake. All agree that the place is not to be casual or arbitrary (xii. 13); it is to be a place chosen. The Samaritan text implies that it has been chosen already, the others that it is to be chosen or may be chosen in the future.

The Semitic languages shrink from employing the passive when the agent is mentioned; the English for these phrases is "the place chosen by the Lord your God." That formula would not, of course, imply that there was to be only one such place; it would imply only that there was a proper place for each individual. If a government order ran: "Civil servants are not to travel by any steamer but by the steamer chosen by the Government," its interpretation would certainly be that: each servant may travel only by one particular steamer. For if the meaning were that there was one steamer for all, its name would obviously be mentioned in the order; they must all travel by the steamer *Britannia* (or whatever its name might be).

The Jewish reading suits the view of the Rabbis that the place of pilgrimage shifted from Shiloh, etc., to Jerusalem, and that prophets such as Elijah had occasionally the right to sacrifice elsewhere; the Samaritan reading suits the view that the place was chosen for all time, and never varied. The Rabbinic interpretation makes it clear why the place is not named, whereas the Samaritan view is confronted with that difficulty.

The Jewish and Samaritan texts, however, are agreed that the place is one, because in xii. 5 the formula runs, "the place chosen by the Lord your God out of all your tribes." A place chosen out of all the tribes is not a convincing expression, since a tribe consists of families or men rather than places; it is not surprising to find that the

Hellenist tradition has something different: "in one of your cities,"¹ where "cities" doubtless stands for "gates." In xii. 14, where the Hebrew texts have also "in one of," there is the same variation in reference to the locality: the Hebrew has "tribes," the Greek favours, or at any rate countenances, "cities."

The difference between the Hebrew and Greek tradition appears to be vital with reference to this question; the place chosen in one of your cities or districts need mean no more than a place chosen in a district; and to make all the males of the community appear three times a year in the parish church is a very different order from making, say, all the males in England appear three times a year at St. Paul's Cathedral; and there is no reason to ask why the place is not mentioned. Each community or unit is to sacrifice on consecrated ground; and the ground is to be consecrated by God, not by man. This consecrated ground is to be looked out for,² doubtless in accordance with some augural system, and not chosen at haphazard.

The next difference between the Hellenist and Jewish tradition is in the formula whereby the divine ownership is described; where the Hebrew has *shakken*, the Greek exhibits "to be called," both in reference to God's name. Geiger fancied both texts had been altered to get rid of an anthropomorphism "to dwell there." But there appears to be no need for conjectures, since the first time this formula occurs, the interpretation is given: "the place which the Lord shall choose to set his name there, to *shakken* it"; where clearly we are informed that *shakken* is a technical term, meaning in connexion with a name "to set." To "set the name to" in many languages, if not in all, means to claim or appropriate; and this word *shakken* is regularly in Syriac "to bestow." "To bestow His name" is a fairly

¹ xii. 5.

² xii. 5.

clear expression ; but the literal meaning of the word, "to plant or stick in the ground," is clearer still, and suggests in what way the consecration of the ground would be indicated. Hence we have not to do with an anthropomorphism, but with a legal formula signifying merely "to appropriate."

That there is some more technical and augural language in these rules seems likely. The word "see" (xii. 13) is suggestive of caprice ;¹ the root used in the formula for "to choose" is suggestive of the Ethiopic word for "region," "circumscribed space," which is the true sense of the Latin *templum*. When a community, for which the technical term appears to be "gate," was founded, a *templum* then was to be discovered which was appropriated to divine use. This is the interpretation of the LXX. also in xvi. 5, where the "gates" are described as "what the Lord thy God giveth thee" ; the sacrifice is to be performed and the tithes eaten on ground which He has chosen for Himself (xii. 18).

In xvii. 8 the LXX. by their introduction of a word or rendering of one show that their theory is what we have seen, viz., that each community has its sanctuary, or rather Divine land. In the event of the civil tribunal in any of the "gates" being unequal to dealing with a case, they are to go up to the place which the Lord shall choose *there* ; according to the Hebrew "there" may be omitted. The rule then is not, as might be supposed from the Hebrew, that the central sanctuary is to be used as a court of appeal ; but that the sanctuary attached to each "gate" is to be so used, when those who deal judgment in "the gate" are themselves unable to decide a case.

In xvi. 21 a similarly slight difference between the two texts suggests a similar difference of interpretation. Heb.

¹ For the Arabic usage see Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 10.

"Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah [of] any tree near unto the altar of the Lord thy God which thou shalt make thee"; LXX. : "thou shalt not plant thee a grove; any wood by the altar of thy God thou shalt not make thee." That the LXX. tradition is the more probable is evident; for the Asherah is a religious object, coming under the category of wood; the command is then extended to any form of wooden object over against the altar. The formula "which thou shalt make thee," as applied to the altar, avoids the natural view that the command is a general one, with regard to *any* altar; the Hebrew reading brings the rule under the rules connected with *the* altar.

Hence, as was observed above, the three texts offer three codes; and the Greek text in general makes it clear that the "place which the Lord thy God may choose" is not one place for the whole nation, but a number of places, one for each "gate" or "city"; large enough to hold the population of that particular region, and easily within a day's journey. For the words far and near are relative; a church is far off if the worshipper has to walk ten miles to get there.

The omission or addition of a word in xviii. 6 affects the meaning with reference to this question vitally. The Hebrew texts offer: "If a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel where he sojourned and come with all the desire of his mind to the place which the Lord shall choose: then he shall minister, etc." Here it is evident that the place which the Lord shall choose is distinguished from the gates in such a way that there can be only one. But the LXX. alters the whole import of the rule by omitting the word "the Lord," and making it the place which the Levite shall choose. The words "with all the desire of his mind" should, of course, be rendered "exactly as he pleases"; and the whole means "if a Levite who is sojourn-

ing in one place decides to go to any other place which he is free to choose exactly as he pleases"; i.e., if he think fit to leave one sanctuary and go to another, then he is to enjoy the perquisites which fall to the priests of that sanctuary, with a certain exception. The Levites, whose name probably means *attachés*, are not then to be regarded as permanently attached to a sanctuary, but as free to migrate from sanctuary to sanctuary as they please; they are to be the element in the community which, by not being attached to any spot, permeates the nation, and keeps it together—unless indeed a king be appointed. For the government contemplated in the first place is not by kings, but by *suffetes*,¹ who are town ("gate") magistrates, as in Phœnician states.

The MSS. of the LXX. which supply "the Lord shall choose" or "the Lord thy God shall choose" doubtless exhibit correction from the Hebrew; according to the older text a Levite might have gone from Jerusalem to Heliopolis, and claimed the right to minister there.²

He who forgets at any moment that with the ancients the natural seat of a book was the memory, and not the written page, is likely to misjudge as well as misunderstand. As we have seen, our three editions of what is ostensibly the same code exhibit divergences which absolutely alter the nature of the precepts and situations contemplated; were these the result of wilful and arbitrary alteration? That view is not really probable; the truer view is that the copies were in all cases made from the memory,³ and that the alterations were such as had been produced by this process of retention.

¹ xvii. 9; cf. xvi. 18.

² In xxxi. 11 the difference is introduced by the LXX. reading "ye shall read" where the Hebrew is "thou shalt read."

³ Cf. xvii. 18, where the expression is obscure, but explained xxxiii. 10.

To the question whether Deuteronomy contains the doctrine "One God, one Temple" the reply is that the book knows nothing of a Temple except in the augural sense, and that the Greek recension knows nothing of either unity or centralisation of worship; indeed, expressly and absolutely excludes it.

With regard to Philo and Josephus, it is not certain that they can be regarded as independent authorities, and any reader of Josephus is aware that he has taken little trouble to reconcile theory with practice. His *Jewish War* would show that internal dissension was what ruined the Jewish cause; in his reply to Apion he maintains that the institutions of the race lead to extreme harmony. Although then he formulates the doctrine cited, it is not surprising that the fault which he finds with the Temple of Heliopolis—to judge from the letter which he cites¹—is not that no second Temple was permissible, but that the ground whereon it was built was unclean. Had the ground been properly chosen, as e.g. by the LXX. translators,² the enterprise of Onias might conceivably have been glorious.

Philo holds that there were no "home sacrifices," though he is compelled to allow of sacrifices "away from the altar."³ Josephus has no hesitation in using the phrase "home sacrifices."⁴ The purpose of these is, according to Philo, meat-eating, according to Josephus feasting. But they are called sacrifices, because that term is used in Deuteronomy xviii. 3 and xii. 20, where it is provided that certain portions of sacrificial animals shall be the priests' perquisite, wherever they are "sacrificed," i.e., slaughtered. If a man slaughtered a sheep on the bank of the Euphrates, was it the legis-

¹ *Archæology*, XIII. iii. § 2.

² Philo, *Vita Moysis*, p. 136.

³ *De Sacerdotum honoribus*, p. 235.

⁴ *Archæology*, IV. iv. § 4.

lator's intention that he should send "the shoulder, the two cheeks and the maw" to Jerusalem? They would be valueless by the time they got there. Doubtless the priest was hard by at the sanctuary of the place; only in this case the priest would come to the owner (probably to kill the beast) instead of the owner and his family going to the "temple."

The New Testament is more vivid than Josephus, but it is difficult to know whether the theory really prevailed in Gospel times or not. The Synoptists all tell us of a leper being miraculously cleansed in Galilee,¹ and being then told to go and show himself to the priest; and to offer for his cleansing as Moses prescribed. What Moses prescribes involves the sacrifice of animals. Has the man to go to Jerusalem? According to Mark's account the man goes about proclaiming the cure, and, it would seem, immediately.

To propose a new theory of the location of Deuteronomy is naturally not the writer's intention; for the result of the present inquiry is not such as to encourage any such attempt. The LXX. version, perhaps of 200 B.C., is doubtless the earliest of our three texts; since it knows nothing of centralised worship, whereas the academical texts of the Samaritans and the Jewish clients of the Sassanian and Moslem empires are clear on this point, the ordinary basis for its location is withdrawn, but another not substituted. If, however, the period for the establishment of this doctrine is thus somewhere between the time of the LXX. translation and the days of Philo, to how many more doctrines may the text of the code have been accommodated in the centuries which preceded? There is no more remarkable provision in the book than that according to which the king is to make his copy of the law not from that conned by his predecessor, but from "before" the priests, the Levites;

¹ Luke v. 12.

the oral tradition, not the written copy, is what is to be trusted. Supposing this rule had been carried out, it is certain that the copies of no two kings would have been absolutely coincident. The second Caliph addressed a paper of instructions to a judge whom he appointed; we have five copies of it, preserved in the first place by oral tradition; no two agree absolutely, and in some cases the differences are considerable.¹ Only the comparison of copies in our possession is a very different process from the reconstruction of lost copies. Modest industry is sufficient for the one process; the genius of a Wellhausen perhaps scarcely sufficient for the other.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE ANGEL-PRINCES OF DANIEL.

It is evident to all men reading the Book of Daniel that a doctrine of angels comes to the front there which is not found elsewhere in the Bible. Traces of it, indeed, may be discovered elsewhere in the Old Testament, and something analogous to it is sufficiently plain in the New. But the teaching itself, in a direct and unmistakable form, is confined to the Book of Daniel among inspired writings. It seems to me that it has never been taken with sufficient seriousness, or at all adequately accounted for. It was at one time thought to be sufficiently explained by being called "Persian," because its rise coincided with the period of Persian domination. Nothing, however, was discovered in Persian lore which corresponded at all closely to the angel-princes of Daniel. Moreover, it was seen to be excessively unlikely that devout Jews (like the author of Daniel) would have taken over any doctrine of religion from their

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, p. 307.

Persian masters. Their fixed standpoint (as the stories in Daniel abundantly testify) was the measureless superiority of their own religion to the religions of the nations—however powerful those nations might be. Against foreign ideas in religion they presented that unyielding front of obstinate dislike which is so familiar to us amongst their descendants to-day. To say that the later Jewish doctrine of angels was “Persian” was not to explain it, but to render it inexplicable.

More plausibly, the angel-princes have been regarded as the equivalents (under an enlarging horizon of religious knowledge) of the “gods of the nations,” whom the earlier Jews had recognised as having a certain existence and power. We know from the Moabite stone that Chemosh was to Moab, in a superficial sense, exactly what Jehovah was to Israel: and Israel himself recognised this fact without clearly perceiving what it involved. Chemosh was in some sort a divinity, and stood for Moab, giving them many good things and trying to give them victory as against Israel. Howbeit, he could not stand against Jehovah: if he seemed to, it was only because Jehovah was angry with His own people. Later on, as everybody knows, this conception of things (which was only a working hypothesis at best) was discredited by the growing conviction of the faithful that Jehovah was not only the God of Israel but the God of the whole earth: the “gods of the nations” were only lying vanities, impostures, nonentities. This is obviously the standpoint in Daniel, a standpoint long since attained and fixed. It seemed reasonable to suggest that, on the principle of a vacuum which must be filled, the angel-princes slid into the places left vacant by the gods of the nations—just as the popular saints of some Christian countries do, in fact, represent the old heathen deities of those lands. But the analogy is misleading. There is no evidence and no likelihood that any cult of angel-princes grew up amongst the

common people in an age of ignorance and superstition. The teaching was (as far as we can tell) put forward by the noblest and most devout spirits in Israel, like the author of Daniel—by men who held most firmly to the faith of their fathers, and had the least possible inclination to combine with it any foreign or alien elements. If the disappearance of the “gods of the nations” left any void for them (which is doubtful), it was one in which they gloried as leaving the more unbounded room for the eternal God.

The doctrine of the angel-princes was, in fact (I venture to think), a philosophy of political history forced upon the thinkers of Israel by the course of political events ever since the battle of Megiddo in which King Josiah fell.

It is quite possible, let us observe, to do without a philosophy of political history. Most Christians do. If they see any religious meaning at all in the course of this world, it is to recognise a practical dualism in which now the powers of good and now the powers of evil get the upper hand. Amidst the manifold confusions which result they console themselves with the prospect of a better world in which righteousness will be supreme. In this attitude they have, no doubt, much to support them both in Scripture and in history.

It was not possible for a Jew to take this line, because Jehovah was the one Almighty God *here and now*. The faithful might, indeed, force their way through to the conviction that Jehovah would be—must be—their God in Sheól also; but primarily, substantially, Jehovah ruled in the kingdom of men, in the affairs of this world. Now the affairs of this world were increasingly difficult to make anything of. When Israel was a “child,” he had no concern with other people, except with the Egyptians whom he had victoriously left behind, and the tribes which dwelt upon his border. These tribes sometimes had him for a time in subjection—that was because he himself had been faithless to

Jehovah. More often he trampled them under foot—that was because his God was matchless in power and ever mindful of His own. Even for the Assyrian wars in the days of Isaiah this simple theory would work ; whatever Israel suffered he had richly deserved, and when Hezekiah was true to Jehovah, Jehovah came to his assistance. But all this came to a violent end at Megiddo. No one could have been more pious, more conscientious, than Josiah ; or more obedient to the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah. Yet when he went forth to withstand Pharaoh as in duty bound, Pharaoh brushed him aside with scarce an effort, and killed him in doing so. “ When he had seen him . . . he slew him.” That was a catastrophe which called aloud for some explanation, and what followed was of a piece with it. The nation of the Jews was like a cork upon a swirling stream, tossed and driven hither and thither amidst the overwhelming thrust and counter thrust of warring empires. Even the restoration of Jerusalem, so gloriously hymned by the Second Isaiah, was blighted by the political dominance of Persia ; when Persia fell, a worse tyranny arose in its place ; nor did the decadence of “ Grecia ” promise any real relief, since Rome stood only too well prepared to take her place and more. The personal rule of Jehovah did not of itself provide the elements of intelligent explanation—even when all possible allowance was made for the effects of Jewish unfaithfulness. It was exactly when he could least be charged with “ holding up his hands to any strange god ” that Israel had seemed most hopelessly adrift amidst the strife of nations. It was only natural that in seeking for some tolerable solution of this monstrous difficulty men should suffer their thoughts to be guided by the analogies of human governance. In the kingdom of Persia, e.g., it was well known that the monarch was absolute ; what he would, he did, or had done. But it was equally well known that all

decrees were discussed, made, confirmed, in the inner circle of the royal counsellors. This fact did not make the monarchy "constitutional"; it did not affect the "autocracy" of the Persian monarch. All the same, it meant that there was in practice a real clash of opinions and of interests in the government of the Empire; it meant that in many ways unknown to outsiders that government was affected and modified by the personal character and influence of the counsellors. Everything pointed to the conclusion that analogous conditions prevailed in the Divine governance of the world. It was certain, of course, that God ruled, and ruled alone. But He must rule through agencies, through powers; and it must be this fact which gave such unexpected and uncomfortable play to the fierce antagonisms of the nations—antagonisms which involved so much suffering for Israel. If, again, He ruled through agencies, or powers of any sort, these must be living and personal—for the scientific or quasi-scientific notion of impersonal "laws," distinguishable from the direct action of God, was entirely unfamiliar to the Jews. And if He ruled at all through personal agents, ministers of His will, these could be none other than angels, who were already (and from of old) known to Jewish religious thought as forming the *entourage*, the family, the court, of the Almighty. Thus the angel-princes of Daniel fell into place, not because the place had been left vacant by the disestablished "gods of the nations," but because their presence there was imperatively demanded in the interests of faith, and suggested by the analogies of earth. One cannot help seeing that something similar has happened amongst Christians. They have been, as it were, compelled by their growing sense of the harshness and callousness of "nature" to interpolate between the bitter suffering of earth and the loving Providence of Heaven a whole system of "laws of nature," of which (as impersonal) no

regard can be demanded, or can be expected, for the happiness of any sentient being. The position is wholly illogical—for to the eye of faith God is always and everywhere immanent in “nature.” It is also irreligious in this sense, that the Bible gives no hint of any such thing; our Lord taught that God is directly concerned in an event so trifling as the fall of a sparrow; the New Testament taught (or implied) that “nature” is everywhere mediated by angelic beings. But for all that the notion of “laws of nature,” inexorable, undistinguishing, without bowels of mercies, but blameless because impersonal, practically holds the field and serves the purposes of Christian faith so well that one does not wish it to disappear at present. One may point out that “nature” is red in tooth and claw, without bringing a railing accusation against the Providence of God: and that is an enormous relief.

If now we turn back to the doctrine of angel-princes to whom the management of political affairs was committed, we may see that it afforded the same sort of relief to the devout Jew whose spirit burned within him as he looked out upon a world which was horribly misgoverned. The *king* can do no wrong; yet, if wrong be done under his sway, his *ministers* may be denounced by the most loyal of subjects. So, in the highest, the Eternal is beyond the possibility of criticism, being absolutely just and true and faithful; but since He rules through angel-princes it must be lawful to charge upon *them* the wrongs and iniquities which fill His earth. Was it not even then notorious that in such a kingdom as Persia the worst sufferings of the people flowed, not from any malevolence in the supreme ruler, but from the incapacity, the carelessness, the self-inferest, the mutual animosity of his advisers and agents? Was it not true that men often suffered most under the rule of the kindest monarch, because his agents took the greatest advantage of

him ? If, then, there is a veritable welter of oppression and crime in the politics of earth, it must be chargeable upon the angel-princes, and it is not contrary to piety to say so openly. This is surely—as Canon Cheyne long ago pointed out—the motive of Psalm lxxxii. It is true that some of our best commentators still feel themselves obliged (doubtless with great reluctance) to stand by the mistranslation of the Authorised and Prayer-Book Versions. “Elohim,” they say, is used for “judges” in Exodus xxi. and xxii. It is not. It means there, as it always means, either God, or (so-called) gods, or at the least supernatural beings. In those verses of Exodus it means God as represented by the judges who gave sentence in His name. That the sacred writer could speak of a man as “coming before God” when he appeared before the theocratic judge only shows how awful was the religious sanction which attached to his decision in those old-world days. The Revised Version has very properly restored the word “God” in all these cases. “God standeth in the congregation of God ; he judgeth among the gods.” That is the situation contemplated by the psalmist. The solitary supremacy of the Most High is so far qualified for him that He is habitually seen by the eye of faith surrounded by an assembly, by a court, which is all His own ; as supreme Judge of all created beings He begins with His own counselors, the angel-princes who (like Himself) are heavenly and supernatural, who *when looked at from below* may even be counted as gods. In this (inferior) sense the psalmist himself acknowledges their claim to the title, but at the same time he warns them, he denounces them, he threatens them with an absence of restraint which nothing could justify or excuse except an overmastering sense of pity and indignation at the cruelty and wrong which filled the earth. It forms one more splendid example of the fact (in which we find so much comfort and encouragement) that the good God

will tolerate any plainness of speech, any seeming irreverence of language, so as it comes from a heart full of concern for others and of devotion to Himself. The righteous indignation which brims over in this Psalm sweeps away all respect for the angels as ministers of God ; it does not even stop to think whether angels *can* suffer the death-penalty ; it only sees that the world under their charge is full of darkness and cruel habitations, that the one possible remedy is for God to set His angel-princes aside, to judge the world Himself, to take all nations as His own inheritance. The extraordinary daring of this outburst is only matched by the poetical beauty of its form, by the uprightness and religious value of the passion which animates it.

The doctrine of the angel-princes, however, was not merely a theory of divine governance by means of angelic agency ; it was a theory of angels who represented the various countries they had in charge. In its most fully developed form it allotted one angel to each of the seventy nations which it covered in Genesis x. Now there was no "representation," properly so called, of its very varied constituent races in such a kingdom as Persia. But there was some approach to it in practice. There were satraps of the provinces who must to some extent have identified themselves with the interests of their provincials. Moreover, in every age men living under despotic government have as a fact contrived to retain the services of some powerful personage in the *entourage* of the king who should more or less openly champion their interests against those of other people. In the Turkish Empire, e.g., the ecclesiastical heads of the various Christian bodies have always had this duty to perform at the Sublime Porte, and that with the express sanction of the Sultan himself. In transferring this principle to the Court of Heaven, it was necessary to place the appointment of these angel-representatives wholly in the hands

of the supreme Judge. He who had made these nations to dwell side by side upon the earth, and settled the bounds of their habitations, gave to each an angel-prince to oversee its affairs and to advance its special interests in His heavenly counsels. The author of Daniel does not apparently contemplate angel-representatives for more than the few great powers which then strove for dominion over the inhabited earth. It was not possible for him to lump these great powers up with the "heathen" at large. They had so distinctive, and indeed so terrible, a significance for the whole world, and especially for the Jews, that they *must* have some supernatural support, some very potent backing in the counsels of Heaven. It was, as I have said, a religious philosophy of political history forced upon the thinkers in Israel by the circumstances of the age in which they lived. It did not *explain* those circumstances—they remained to a great extent inexplicable. But it helped to make them intelligible; it brought them under modes of thought which were already familiar; it pointed to conditions and causes which were very actively at work upon earth. It may be that no philosophy of political history can do more than this.

How this religious philosophy stands related to Christian faith and thought is another matter, and one of even greater interest.

RAYNER WINTERBOTHAM.

*THE ESCHATOLOGICAL SECTION OF
1 THESSALONIANS.*

IN this paper I propose to consider the section chapter iv. 13-18 of 1 Thessalonians.

We cannot tell with positive certainty why the subject of this passage—the share of the departed in the blessings consequent on the coming of the Lord—came to be dealt with in this Epistle. The Apostle introduces the subject somewhat unexpectedly with the words: “But we would not that ye should be ignorant, brethren, concerning them that sleep, so that ye may not sorrow even as the rest who have not hope.” It is hardly likely that St. Paul would have entered upon the question, as he here does, unless there had manifested itself in the Thessalonian Church a certain hopelessness at the death of some of its members; and it seems justifiable to suppose that news, brought possibly by Timothy from Thessalonica, had reached the Apostle which made the exhortation here given necessary. It cannot reasonably be argued that the interval of time that had elapsed since the Thessalonian Church was founded was too short for any of its members to have passed away. The implication in the section under consideration that some had died has, it is true, been used as an argument against the genuineness of the Epistle, but the earlier part of the Epistle is so obviously genuine, betraying as it does so strongly the depth of the Apostle’s feeling, and his anxiety for the Church from which he had been prematurely separated, that it is unreasonable not to accept the present section as genuine too, and to explain its genesis as due to information which St. Paul had received. Certainly in the months that had elapsed since he had left Thessalonica there had been time for deaths to occur among the members

of the Church; and this seems the simplest explanation of the introduction of the subject into the Epistle.

1. Now in order to understand the passage before us, we must keep in mind the purpose for which it was written. This was to inspire the Christians of Thessalonica with hope respecting the dead who had been members of their community. For these they were sorrowing even as those who were outside the pale of the Church would have sorrowed. The Christian hope, associated with the coming of Christ, was not thought to be applicable to them. Death was considered to be a bar to its realisation. The Apostle here teaches that this view of regarding the matter was all wrong, and that the dead in Christ would be at no disadvantage at the Parousia, in the blessings of which they would share quite as much as those who would be alive when that great event occurred.

We must not in the passage under consideration look for a treatise on eschatology. It obviously is not that. The Apostle's aim is to dispel a certain lack of hope, and all that he says here is directed to this end. The hope that was theirs that were Christ's in this life was to be extended to those who had died in the faith of the risen Jesus.

To be without hope for the dead was to forget the fundamental facts of the Christian faith, that Jesus had died and had risen again. "If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, so also those that fell asleep through this Jesus (τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) God will bring with him."

We must examine this phrase τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ—those that fell asleep through the Jesus—that is, the Jesus just mentioned as having died and risen. The first time the name Ἰησοῦς occurs it is without the article, the second time, the article is appended with the obvious intention of referring back to the Jesus already spoken of as having died and, according to Christian belief, risen again.

We note that the aorist participle (τοὺς κοιμηθέντας) is used in the phrase before us, whereas in the previous verse it is the present participle that occurs (περὶ τῶν κοιμωμένων). There is plainly a distinction to be made here. οἱ κοιμώμενοι = those that are sleeping, those that are asleep, the fact of death, and not the act of dying being prominent. But οἱ κοιμηθέντες διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ = those that fell asleep through the (risen) Jesus, there being no reference to their present condition as sleeping or dead, but to their condition at the moment of death—they fell asleep διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

What, then, are we to understand by διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ here? I agree with Lightfoot that the words must be taken with τοὺς κοιμηθέντας, and not with the following ἄξει σὺν αὐτῷ; but I do not find myself in agreement with him as to the force of διὰ. The difficulty, Lightfoot says,¹ is to assign "its proper signification of instrumentality to the preposition." It is true that he allows that the διὰ may not be that of the instrument but "the διὰ of passage." He says, having in mind the phrase οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ of 1 Corinthians xv. 18: "As a state of spiritual condition is ἐν Χριστῷ, so a transition from one state to another is διὰ Χριστοῦ." But his note leaves the impression that he prefers to bring out the force of instrumentality in the participle. "The justification of διὰ is probably to be sought in the fact that κοιμηθῆναι is not equivalent to θανεῖν, but implies moreover the idea first of peacefulness, and secondly of an awakening. It was Jesus who transformed their death into a peaceful slumber. "According to this, then, the phrase τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ would practically mean "those whose death was through Jesus turned into a sleep."

This interpretation would have more to commend it if death had not been called a sleep in pre-Christian times

¹ *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul.*

both by Jewish and heathen writers. Moreover it appears to me to read into the phrase what is not really contained in it. It directs attention too much to an act of Jesus, and does not sufficiently emphasize the state of those spoken of as τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Their state or condition when they died or fell asleep was διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

Nor does Lightfoot's alternative interpretation whereby διὰ is "the διὰ of passage" satisfy me, and I think some other explanation of the preposition must be sought for. Nor is it far to seek. May not διὰ here be what the grammarians call, the διὰ of "attendant circumstances?"¹ Such a use of the preposition we found in 2 Timothy ii. 2: ἀ ἤκουσας παρ' ἐμοῦ διὰ πολλῶν μαρτύρων = the things which thou didst hear from me among many witnesses; and again in Rom. ii. 27: τὸν διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτην νόμου = who with the letter and circumcision art a transgressor of the law. A similar use of διὰ is to be found in Romans xiv. 20, κακὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ διὰ προσκόμματος ἐσθίει = it is evil for that man that eateth with offence; and again in Romans iv. 11 εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας = that he might be the father of all them that believe when (or though) they are in a state of uncircumcision. In 2 Corinthians ii. 4 we read ἔγραψα ὑμῖν διὰ πολλῶν δακρύων, which we should translate, "I wrote unto you with many tears," though the phrase διὰ τῶν δακρύων might be rendered "through many tears."²

The interpretation of διὰ as the διὰ of attendant circumstances gives excellent sense to the passage we are considering. The Apostle is speaking of those who had fallen

¹ This interpretation is given by Dobschütz in his recent Commentary on the Thessalonian Epistles.

² Most of these examples are given by Blass, *Grammar of N.T. Greek*, p. 132.

asleep in the faith of Jesus, who was raised from the dead. For we have already drawn attention to the force of the article before *Ἰησοῦ*. It is the same Jesus of whom it has just before been said that, according to Christian belief, He had died and risen again. The phrase *τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* comes, then, to mean those who fell on sleep in this atmosphere or surrounding of Christian faith. They were in a certain relationship with the risen and living Jesus when they died. They had fallen asleep *διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, of whom it is said : *ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη*. As He was risen, so those who were His and had died through Him would God bring with Him. The return of Jesus to earth was a real hope of the Thessalonians (i. 10), what they needed assurance of was that with Him would be brought those who, having themselves shared this hope, had fallen asleep. These, they had to learn, were in no sense losers by death.

The Apostle goes on to enforce this point by an appeal to the word of the Lord : "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we that are alive that are left unto the coming (*παρουσία*) of the Lord, shall in no wise precede them that are fallen asleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God : and the dead in Christ shall rise first."

There has been considerable difference of opinion as to what is here intended by "the word of the Lord." Some have thought that the Apostle is himself uttering an original prophetic message, spiritually revealed to Him. Some have argued that the reference is to some spoken word of the Lord Jesus, whether or not that word be recorded in our Gospels. Others, again, led by Steck, have found this 'word of the Lord' in 2 Esdras v. 40, 41. This last explanation must, however, be rejected, for it is impossible to accept it if we allow the genuineness of 1 Thessalonians. Moreover,

it has nothing in itself to recommend it, as the reader will probably readily grant if he refers to the passage. It remains, then, to consider the other two explanations.

In favour of the first of these, namely, that the Apostle is speaking prophetically, we have the fact that ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου is the Old Testament phrase in connexion with such prophetic utterances. It has always seemed to me, however, that a serious argument against this interpretation is that the Apostle is not here speaking specially for himself. He does not say, "This *I* say unto you by the word of the Lord"; but "This *we* say unto you, etc.," so associating with himself Silvanus and Timothy in whose names as well as his own the Epistle is written (i. 1). Here surely if the appeal were to some prophetic word revealed to St. Paul himself he would have employed the singular first personal pronoun. I am unable to take the view that the 'we' of St. Paul's Epistles is merely an author's 'we,' and I hope in another paper to shew that the 'we' of the Thessalonian Epistles is most naturally explained as a real plural, and that there is a reason why in certain places the Apostle speaks in his own name and uses the first person singular.

I come, then, to the conclusion that the reference is to some word of the Lord Jesus. Whether or not that word is, like that in Acts xx. 35, one not recorded in our Gospels, is a matter for consideration. We have to inquire whether in the Gospels we have any word of Jesus parallel with what we find here. But we must first examine how far in our present passage there is a conclusion based upon the word of Jesus, and to what extent it may reasonably be thought to contain the actual word spoken by Him. I should myself certainly at once understand the words "we that are alive, that are left (or survive) unto the coming of the Lord, shall in no wise precede them that are asleep" as a deduction from some word of the Lord Jesus. I see no reason for

supposing that Jesus ever uttered such a saying as this : Those that are alive and survive unto My coming shall in no wise precede those that are fallen asleep.

So far as we have in the passage under consideration any quotation of actual words of Jesus, as distinguished from deductions drawn from them, I should say that they must be those contained in the next verse (*v.* 16). I do not for a moment mean by this that the *ὅτι* of *v.* 16 is to be linked with *λέγομεν*, and that the intervening words—that we who are alive, etc.—are parenthetical. The *ὅτι* of verse 16 must be translated “for” and not “that.” But the passage can be quite well interpreted in some such way as this : This we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, etc., shall in no wise precede them that are asleep—this being deduction—for—and here in substance is the word of the Lord Jesus—the Lord Himself with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God, shall descend from heaven, etc.

Now there is no saying of Jesus in our Gospels corresponding exactly to this. But there are certain sayings which bear a striking resemblance to it, e.g. St. Matt. xxiv. 31, St. Matt. xvi. 25, St. John vi. 39 ; and it is easy to believe that there were other sayings of Jesus current among the early Christians which came even more near to the words of 1 Thessalonians iv. 16. The mention of the trumpet here and in St. Matthew xxiv. 31 is remarkable, and we recall St. Paul’s words in 1 Corinthians xv. 52 : “For the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.” We see how in St. Paul’s mind the sounding of the trumpet is associated with the raising of the dead, and it seems to me exceedingly probable that this association is due to the language and words of Jesus.

I take it, then, that what St. Paul says here “by the word of the Lord” goes back to the words of Jesus, who

had given His disciples to understand that at His coming He would raise the dead, and that the dead no less than the living would have a share in His kingdom.

For this is, as we have already said, the whole point of the passage under consideration. The Thessalonians were sorrowing because, as it seemed to them, those Christians who had died were excluded from the blessings of the Parousia. St. Paul would heal their sorrow by telling them that the dead in Christ had lost nothing by death. God would bring them with Jesus at His coming. In no way would they be behind the living ; on the contrary, their resurrection would precede the glorification of those who were alive. The dead in Christ would rise *first*.

It is important to observe that there is not in this passage any distinction made between the dead in Christ and the other dead. The latter are not mentioned at all. The word 'first' stands opposed to the *ἔπειτα* of the sentence : "Then we that are alive that are left shall together with them be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air." There is no suggestion here, at any rate, of a first and second resurrection. First, the dead in Christ will rise, then the Christian living, the survivors on earth, will be caught up to meet the Lord in the air, and both alike will be for ever with the Lord.

The error of the Thessalonians who were sorrowing without hope for their dead arose from a misunderstanding of the future kingdom. They seem to have regarded it as of the earth, and they thought that Christ's coming would be a return to earth. The Apostle here corrects this wrong idea. He tells them that those Christians who are alive at the Parousia will be taken up from the earth. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians St. Paul teaches that those who are yet alive will have to be changed, for "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." The same truth is

implied in the passage before us. The future kingdom is not to be a mundane one, but supramundane (*εἰς ἀέρα*)

We have, then, in this passage a very important Christian truth—the supramundane character of the future life. Resurrection for Christians will not be for them, any more than for their Lord, a return to the conditions of earth. The Lord's coming will not be such a return. He will come to receive His own, that they may be with Him where He is. And when we speak of the future state as supramundane we need not interpret the *supra* locally. Local interpretations are quite out of place. What is 'above' in one part of the earth is 'below' in another. Before the discovery of the rotundity of the earth this, of course, could not be understood, but permanent truth may be contained in an imperfect expression of it. The being caught up to meet the Lord in the air may suggest a future local habitation above the earth, and thus, in their simplicity, some of the first Christians may have understood the matter. But the essence of the matter is that the future life with Christ is not of this world nor on this world, but far above it; not locally above, for such an idea is no longer intelligible.

It is important for us to interpret spiritual truths, which were expressed for the first Christians in language they could understand, according to their essential meaning and not according to the literal statement of them. The spiritual world is indeed past our comprehension, but our Christian belief is that the material is not the measure of everything, and that it is possible to cast off "flesh and blood" and yet be ourselves, nay, we may say, to become more than we can, with our present limitations, know ourselves to be. We can still find comfort for ourselves, and, as we find it, supply comfort to others in these words of the Apostle, which he wrote to remove the hopelessness of his Thessalonian disciples, who needed an escape from the material measure of things.

E. H. ASKWITH.

THE TEACHING OF HERMAS AND THE FIRST GOSPEL ON DIVORCE.

PROFESSOR LAKE is always unconventional and interesting, particularly when he writes about Hermas and the problems discussed in the primitive Church. It is, however, difficult to follow him in the somewhat paradoxical argument he advances in his article *The Earliest Christian Teaching on Divorce*.¹ The question at issue is of such pressing practical importance that he will forgive a friend for attempting to pick his argument to pieces.

His main propositions are two : (1) That the words by which divorce for adultery is allowed in Matthew v. 32 ; xix. 9 are not part of the teaching of Christ. (2) That they carry with them only a permission to separate *a mensa et toro*, not to remarry.

In (1) he is of course in line with the general critical opinion, and it is unnecessary to discuss the question at length.² At the same time a *caveat* may be permitted. From the point of view of criticism of the documents presupposed by our Gospels, the excepting clause may appear not to be original ; yet we cannot be sure that it does not ultimately rest on some word of Christ. The disciples discussed with Him the interpretation of His hard sayings, and the exception may go back to some explanation given by Him on an occasion not recorded in the Gospels. This would account for its incorporation in the First Gospel, a fact which is most easily explained if it was believed to rest on the Master's teaching. Dr. Sanday, in his evidence given

¹ EXPOSITOR, November, 1910.

² I may perhaps be dispensed from the necessity of doing so, as I have already dealt with the question in some detail in an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* (April, 1910) ; my present purpose is to discuss the fresh point raised by Professor Lake.

before the Royal Commission on Divorce, has shown himself inclined to some such view, and he even suggests the possibility that the words may have stood in Q and been omitted by St. Luke. At any rate it must still remain an open question whether after all they do not go back to some explanation given by our Lord Himself.

But we are mainly concerned here with the interpretation of the words adopted by Professor Lake. His argument is based entirely on the passage in *Hermas* (*Mand.* iv. 1), which deals with the relation between a Christian husband and an unfaithful wife. *Hermas*, on the authority of the Angel, holds that the husband is to separate from his wife, but not to marry again; he is to be ready to take her back if she repents, though this may only be done once. Professor Lake suggests that this decides the interpretation of the clause in St. Matthew.

We must note that he apparently admits that "a strictly grammatical and logically correct exegesis" is against this view. At any rate he adduces no argument from the words themselves as they stand in the First Gospel. "It is (he says) of the essence of divorce that it takes with it freedom to remarry; indeed, this seems always to have been understood, even among the Jews." This fact can indeed hardly be disputed, and its importance is obvious. In view of the universal custom of His day, if our Lord meant to allow separation, without remarriage, the point must have been stated clearly. He is dealing with *divorce* (the technical term ἀπολύω is used), and if by His answer He intended to introduce the modified form of it, which we know as separation, the whole run of the sentence would have been different; a point so important and novel could not have been left ambiguous—admitting for the moment that there is some ambiguity in the words, though in fact there seems to be none. St. Paul and *Hermas*, who do urge separation, take

some trouble to make their meaning clear, and the former (in 1 Cor. vii.) avoids the technical ἀπολύω. The same considerations apply *mutatis mutandis* to the view which considers the exception in St. Matthew to be due to the editor. If he intended his qualification to cover only separation, he has stated his point very clumsily.

Professor Lake would probably admit this, but he urges that awkward though the interpretation is, it is required by a comparison with the nearly contemporary document, *Hermas*. He suggests two possibilities. (a) The clauses in Matthew may be late interpolations embodying the rule which had already been laid down by *Hermas*. Of course we admit that if this were the case, the considerations urged above would not apply; a gloss introduced into the text is frequently awkward and clumsily worded. All we can say is that there is absolutely no evidence for this view. Though there is some textual confusion in both the passages of Matthew, the confusion affects other points (the order of the clauses, and so on); there is no textual ground whatever for omitting the excepting clauses. Professor Lake says that "the fact that there is no trace of a text of Matthew omitting the clause is insufficient to prove that such a text never existed." We know that it is never wise to attempt to prove a universal negative, but we have the right to say that the burden of proof lies on the shoulders of those who suggest a hypothesis which runs counter to all our available evidence. The very fact that Matthew here contradicts Mark and Luke makes it probable that the contradiction was original. It is hard to believe that such a contradiction could have been introduced into the text at a late date with such success that no trace was left of the earlier and purer text free from the stumbling-block. The tendency was to assimilate the text of the Gospels, not to introduce differences.

(b) The second suggestion is that *Hermas* is interpreting

Matthew, and that, being our oldest extant interpretation, his view is decisive. The strange thing is that Professor Lake has already told us that "there is no evidence that Hermas was acquainted with it. (sc. the First Gospel)." We do not press the fact that in dealing with divorce he in no way quotes, or refers to, our Lord's authority, for, as Professor Lake says, it is not his habit to quote; but we are entitled to point out that there is nothing in the divorce passage which makes it in any way certain that he is dealing with the First Gospel at all. He is discussing the case of the believing wife (ἐἰ γυναῖκα ἔχη τις, πιστὴν ἐν κυρίῳ, cf. 1 Cor. vii. 12, εἰ τις ἀδελφὸς γυναῖκα ἔχει ἄπιστον), and the impression left is that St. Paul's teaching (though in a confused and imperfectly assimilated form) is at the back of his mind. St. Paul has allowed separation from an unbelieving wife, and Hermas extends the principle to the case of the believing wife. He once urges that remarriage is adultery, but the whole stress of his argument rests not on this, but on the desirability of leaving the door open for repentance and return. At any rate, it must remain uncertain whether Hermas knew Matthew or not, and until this preliminary question has been decided, it seems a little unreasonable to ask us to accept him as a final and authoritative commentator on a document which he may never have seen or heard of.

There is a third possibility, namely, that the First Gospel and Hermas represent different solutions of the same problem—was the prohibition of divorce to hold good in the case of an adulterous wife? No, said the line of thought represented by Matthew; and it was held (whether rightly or wrongly) that this answer rested ultimately on our Lord's teaching, and no objection was felt to incorporating it into the record of His words. Yes, said Hermas; they must separate, but not remarry; this view required the authority of a special

revelation, and no attempt was made to base it on the words of Christ. The answers may have been arrived at independently ; or Hermas may have been correcting Matthew, if he did after all know the Gospel. In the very section from the *Mandata* which we are considering, we read, " He that hath sinned and repenteth must be received ; yet not often, for to the servants of God there is but one repentance." This is in obvious contradiction to Matthew xviii. 21 (" How often shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him ? " etc.), the very section preceding one of the divorce passages. We see then that if Hermas was acquainted with the First Gospel, he did not consider its authority decisive ; if he was not, the revelations of his Angel sometimes led him to conclusions diametrically opposed to it. In either case the fact that in his view of remarriage after divorce for adultery he contradicts Matthew, need present no difficulty.

We conclude then that the argument derived from Hermas is not sufficiently strong to justify us in abandoning the plain, grammatical and logical sense of the excepting clauses of Matthew. We hold that the words allow remarriage, where they allow divorce ; and here we are supported by the general consensus of modern critics. But, subject to the *caveat* stated above, we agree that it is doubtful whether they can claim to be the *ipsissima verba* of Christ. What then is to be our attitude in face of the practical question of their application ? There are some who, while they admit that the text of Matthew allows remarriage, hold that the permission is mistaken, and that we should fall back on the undoubted words of our Lord as reported in Mark and Luke. We should realise what this implies. A remarriage, they say, is legalised adultery, or bigamy. Yet the editor of the First Gospel not only sanctions it, but twice puts into the mouth of our Lord Himself the permission to commit what is *ex hypothesi*, a heinous sin. It is obvious that such a view is

fatal to the authority of the First Gospel. We may, and should, admit critical principles to the full, and it is of great value historically to recover, so far as we can, the actual sayings of Christ, spoken in the days of His flesh. But we shall find ourselves in grave difficulties if, imagining that we are getting back to the *ipsissima verba* of the Master, we hold ourselves entitled to question the authority of the rest of the Gospels. The commands to baptize in the name of the Trinity, and to continue the Lord's Supper, the promise of permanence to the Church, the power of remission of sins granted to the disciples, in fact, the whole of the Fourth Gospel, are open to critical doubts as grave as the clauses we have been considering; that is to say, it is questionable whether they can make good their claim to be in any sense *verbatim* reports of actual sayings of Christ. If we are only going to accept the residuum which may be proved to rest on His *ipsissima verba*, we shall indeed tremble at every new pronouncement of criticism, and its decisions may not always be as palatable as they have been in the teaching about Divorce.

In face of modern critical analysis of the Gospels, the right ground to take is that whether they give us the actual words of Jesus or not, they give us in essentials the mind of Christ interpreted to His Church by the Spirit which was to guide it into all truth. No doubt such a position needs justification, but most of us will admit its attractions. And it has the advantage of enabling us to face the critical future without misgivings. At any rate it is well not to make the initial mistake of attributing to the writer of the First Gospel the unpardonable error of gravely misrepresenting our Lord's teaching on a crucial point of morality. For this is what it comes to when we hold that the Matthaean clauses allow remarriage, but that they may be ignored for practical purposes as a perversion of His authentic teaching. It is far

less objectionable to take the view that they do not allow remarriage ; the objection is, as we have seen, that it does violence to the plain grammatical meaning of the words, and in spite of Professor Lake's disinterested attempt to find support for it in *Hermas*, is really a counsel of despair. We are, therefore, thrown back upon the position that they must be interpreted fairly according to their obvious meaning, as allowing the remarriage of the "innocent party," and that whether actually spoken by Christ or not, we must regard them as a legitimate explanation of His teaching, sanctioned by their incorporation into the text of the First Gospel.

C. W. EMMET.

*POSSIBLE REFERENCES TO THE FOUNDATION OF
TIBERIAS IN THE TEACHING OF OUR LORD.*

ST. MATTHEW'S Parable of the Wedding Garment ¹—or the Marriage of the King's Son—is nowadays commonly set beside St. Luke's Parable of the Great Supper,² as if they were two different recensions of the same discourse. To this Archbishop Trench objects, and insists that they must not be confounded. At the same time³ he notes that "strangely enough Theophylact, Calvin and Maldonatus maintain their identity ; the last saying, 'Quae dissimilia videntur adeo sunt levia ut ab hac sententiâ dimovere non debeant.'"

At any rate the two parables have a common nucleus. In the words of Archbishop Trench : "Both rest on the image of a festival to which many are bidden, some refusing

¹ Matthew xxii. 1-4.

² Luke xiv.

³ *Notes on the Parables* (London, 1874), p. 217.

the invitation and some accepting." And it would seem reasonable to suppose that in the course of transmission this nucleus has been modified variously and combined with cognate parables. Such conflation and such modification point, perhaps, to the early origin, if not to the actual authenticity, of the common tradition.

It might be said—and presumably it is commonly supposed—that this nucleus is simply a parabolic reflexion of the fact that some accepted the Gospel, "the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand," and afterwards fell away from their faith. Such a solution is indeed a labour-saving device. Such solutions absolve the interpreter of the Gospels from the duty of studying contemporary Judaism. But—supposing, for the sake of argument, that the two parables contain some actual words spoken by Jesus of Nazareth—I venture to suggest that this nucleus-parable is based upon an event of great importance in the history of Galilee.

It is surely a strange thing even in a parable that the invited guests should send excuses, and *such* excuses; and that the host—the royal host, perhaps—should fill their places with casual persons at the last minute. But—allowing for the form of a story or parable—this is precisely what happened when Herod Antipas founded the city of Tiberias.

The *prima facie* objection, that any deed of Herod Antipas is an improper comparison for the Kingdom or Reign of God, is invalid. In another place it is likened to leaven, which all thoughtful men, whether they be Jews or Greeks, know to be an impure thing and the symbol of corruption. The disciples of Jesus—Jews who were acclimatised to parabolic teaching—would probably never have thought of associating closely the two parts of any similitude. As it stands, the Parable of the Leaven is startling enough. In its original form the juxtaposition was perhaps more remote.

Perhaps Jesus said in Aramaic, "You, the disciples of the Theocracy (or of God Himself), are the Remnant (*Sh'ear*) and, as such, you will be the Leaven (*S'or*) of the Lump," and so converted the proverb, which the Rabbis applied to the Evil Nature in man and in mankind. However that may be the moral character of Herod Antipas and his attitude towards John Baptist and Jesus—whatever it really was—do not preclude him from furnishing our Lord with an illustration.

The facts, then, upon which this nucleus-parable seems to be based are these. Herod the tetrarch, in consideration of his friendship and affection for the Emperor Tiberius, built a city on the shore of Lake Gennesaret in the best part of Galilee and called it Tiberias. In the village near it called Ammath there were hot springs—a spa, in fact—to which invalids resorted even in time of war. But its first inhabitants were a mongrel rabble. The Galilean element was not inconsiderable. Some of the tenants of the royal estates were compelled to settle there. There were also some of the nobility who held high offices of state. To live with these he welcomed needy men gathered in from all quarters. Some of them were not even above suspicion of being slaves. But he declared them free and bestowed many benefits upon them. On condition that they should not leave the city, he furnished them with model dwellings at his own expense and with allotments of land. The point was that the building of Tiberias involved the destruction of many sepulchres; and, therefore, as he knew, it was illegal for Jews to settle there. The Law declares that such settlers are unclean for seven days.¹

Josephus inserts this account of the foundation of Tiberias between the advent of Pontius Pilate as procurator of Judaea and the death of Phraates, king of the Parthians.

¹ Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII. ii. 3 (ed. Niese, §§ 36-38).

Therefore, if his arrangement is accepted, Tiberias was founded and so colonised in the year 26 A.D.¹

Its later fortunes have some bearing upon the present inquiry. As the capital of Galilee it passed from Antipas to Agrippa I., to the Roman procurator of Judaea, and to Agrippa II. In 66 A.D. its inhabitants were divided into two parties.² The revolutionaries—the sailors and needy men—led by Jesus, a former archon of the city, prevailed over the adherents of Rome and Agrippa and also over those who wished to stand aside from the quarrel. But, when Vespasian subjugated Galilee, Tiberias opened its gates to the legions and received pardon for the sake of Agrippa.³ In the third and fourth centuries it was a famous seat of Rabbinic learning.

From this it would appear that the Galilean element in the mixed population of Tiberias was at times predominant and that, later, Jews overcame the scruples which at the first prevented them from settling there. The Jews, it should be observed, are, in the language of Josephus, Jews who remain Jews as distinct from Jews who abandon the customs of their race: he says, for example, that no Jews apostatised in the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, whereas in point of fact the persecution had been¹ preceded by a voluntary apostasy and was certainly welcomed by a section of the Jews in Jerusalem. And as for Tiberias, Josephus says that when he himself entered it he found the people assembled in the synagogue or proseucha.

The law which debarred strict Jews from entering Tiberias, *if* they wished to continue in a state of purity, is written in the section relative to the Water of Separation:—

¹ Schürer, *G. J.* V., ii. 169–174.

² Josephus, *Vita*, 9.

³ *B. J.*, III. ix. 7 f.

“And whosoever toucheth . . . a bone of a man or a grave shall be unclean seven days.”¹

In the oral Tradition, as it is codified in the Mishnah, this law is defined and its observance is secured by definite provisions.²

No Jew, therefore, who desired to live according to the Law—and the Levitical requirements were binding upon all good Jews according to Philo—could accept the invitation of Antipas and settle in Tiberias. It does not seem unnatural that the foundation of the city should actually be celebrated with a feast. In any case the model dwellings and allotments of land would furnish the materials and the necessary accommodation.

In the First Gospel the feast to which the guests are bidden becomes the marriage of the king's son. Strictly speaking, Antipas was never more than tetrarch, and he lost his dominions because he besought the Emperor to make him king. But popular language may well have echoed his own ambitions, and perhaps St. Luke wrote *man* for *king* because deliberate and wilful neglect of a royal command was incredible to him. The Galilean element in the population of Tiberias and the state officials might naturally be called the son of the tetrarch of Galilee. Scribes, and perhaps priests also, were needed to repress the zeal of the Galileans; and these are the guests who refuse the invitation. No excuses are reported by St. Matthew. The guests go about their ordinary business or murder the messengers.

This detail—the remnant took his servants and entreated them spitefully, and slew them—and the vengeance taken for the murder³ interrupt the course of the story. The

¹ Numbers xix. 16.

² See Mishnah, *Ohaloth*, xvii. f.

³ “He sent forth his armies and destroyed those murderers and burned up their city.”

oxen and fatlings were killed before the servants were sent. Both details would, therefore, seem to be later accretions based respectively upon the fate of John Baptist and Jesus and upon the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

Similarly the episode of the man who had no wedding garment is obviously intrusive. The conclusion, "For many are called but few are chosen," is the moral drawn from the nucleus-parable, although it is stated from the standpoint of one who traces in men's actions the effect of God's determination. Some guests refused to attend the banquet: the inference is that God had not selected them.

But even with the accretions the parable admits of an interpretation which is not specifically Christian or necessarily confined to circles which looked for a definite deliverer of Israel other than their own invisible King. Jehovah by His prophets acknowledged Israel to be His firstborn son. No bride is mentioned. Others are invited to share the joy which is symbolised by a marriage feast—the joy of believing that the Lord reigneth. Many refuse to participate in it and the wedding is furnished with guests good and bad. Proselytes recruit the ranks of Judaism and take the place of apostates who deserted from allegiance to the Law. They were good and bad, and like some of the inhabitants of Tiberias they were gathered in from every quarter.

But, if the accretions and modifications of St. Matthew seem to lead us farther away from the suggested source of the parable, it must be remembered that the place which it occupies in the Gospel supports the theory of its origin. The sequel is this: "Then went the Pharisees and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk. And they sent out unto him their disciples *with the Herodians*.¹ . . . " Whether the sequence of events be real or artificial the narrative implies that the Herodians were affected by the parable.

¹ Matthew xxii. 15 f.

The parable of the Great Supper, as it is reported in the Third Gospel, has peculiar details which fit in with this theory. All the guests with one consent began to make excuse. As reported, their excuses are inept, if a mere dinner party and not permanent residence in an unclean city be in question. Their refusal is not followed by the despatch of a punitive expedition. The servant merely brings in the poor and the maimed and the halt and the blind at his Lord's command. Then, since yet there is room, he is bidden, "Go out into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled."

The single servant may be due to the concentration of the Christian mind upon Jesus Christ as the recapitulation of all God's servants. Of other peculiar details, the insistence upon the general disabilities of some of the guests who partake of the feast is probably derived from the preceding context, in which the laws of true hospitality are laid down.¹ But the division of the guests into two classes—the poor and the pressed men—is at any rate appropriate to the suggested source, in which Antipas bribes the needy and compels his own tenants to colonise Tiberias. Finally, the excuses offered apply to the invitation of Antipas at least as well as to the invitation of the Gospel, which St. Luke² appends to his parable. So far as the great supper is concerned the excuses are, as Plummer says,³ "transparently worthless." But they are accepted, and it is to be noted that the third⁴ rests upon the Law: "as it is written, *When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business: but he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken.*"⁵

¹ Luke xiv. 12-14.

² xiv. 25-27.

³ St. Luke, *ICC.* p. 361.

⁴ Ver. 20.

⁵ Deut. xxiv. 5 (A.V.).

I suggest, then, that in the original parable the strict Jews, who avoided the pollution of the desecrated sepulchres, corresponded to the worldly-minded men, who shrank from the sacrifices which Jesus required of His disciples ; and, secondly, that Luke has preserved details and has given the whole a setting which support this view of its source and its significance.

Indeed, even the sayings, which follow the definition of discipleship, may well refer to Antipas and belong with the rest to a body of tradition derived from some person like " Herod's steward."

The first saying is :—

" Which of you *intending to build a tower* sitteth not down first and counteth not the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it ? Lest haply after he hath laid the foundation and is not able to finish it all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, *This man began to build and was not able to finish.*"

From the Jewish point of view Tiberias would be incomplete without the requisite number of strict Jews. And if, therefore, it is to be judged by heathen standards, Antipas built no heathen temple. Again, the Emperor Claudius bestowed such benefits upon the inhabitants that they put *Τιβεριεῖς Κλαυδιεῖς* on their coins. In all these respects Antipas left his " tower " incomplete.

The second saying seems to be aimed at an even more impressive incident in the career of Antipas. In order to marry Herodias he divorced his wife, the daughter of the Arabian king, Aretas, and thereby provoked a feud which culminated in a crushing defeat of his troops in A.D. 36. The saying seems to refer to an earlier stage of this war :—

" What king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first and consulteth whether he

be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand ? Or else while the other is yet a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage and desireth conditions of peace.”¹

Tiberias was a monument of this Herod's folly ; and his entanglement with Herodias, who could brook neither a rival wife nor less than royal rank, effected his ruin in the end. He asked Caligula for the title of king and was banished from his tetrarchy in A.D. 39.

So it is not altogether fanciful to see in these sayings taunts directed against the incapacity and rashness of Herod Antipas.

Another possible reference to Tiberias is to be found in the denunciation in which the Pharisees are compared to whitewashed sepulchres. St. Matthew gives the fuller form of this saying with explanation and application of the similitude :—

“ Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, because you resemble whitewashed tombs, which outside appear beautiful, but within are full of dead bones and all uncleanness. So also you on the outside appear to men righteous, but within are filled with hypocrisy and lawlessness.”²

The practice of whitewashing tombs is prescribed by the Oral Law as a pious duty to be performed after the rains on the fifteenth day of Adar. Its object was to prevent men in a state of Levitical purity from incurring pollution unawares. The only direct warrant for it in Scripture would seem to be Ezekiel's prophecy against Gog, the oppressor of Israel :—

¹ Luke xiv. 31 f. (A.V.).

² Matt. xxiii. 27. The Sinaitic Syriac omits the word *beautiful*, which may well be an explanation of *whitewashed*.

“And it shall come to pass in that day that I will give unto Gog a place there of graves in Israel, the valley of the passengers on the east of the sea . . . and there shall they bury Gog and all his multitude. . . . Yea, all the people of the land shall bury them . . . and the passengers that pass through the land, when any seeth a man’s bone, then shall he set up a sign by it till the buriers have buried it in the valley of Hamon-Gog. And also the name of the city shall be Hamonah. Thus shall they cleanse the land.”¹

The Greek word which St. Matthew uses to denote the whitewashing of the tombs occurs in the Greek version of the Law. It is written :—

“And it shall be, on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee up great stones and *plaister* them with *plaister*.²

The tomb of the pious Israelite was the Jordan through which he passed to the land which his God should give him. It was, in itself, a source of impurity to any who practised purity, and therefore his passing-place, no less than that of his people, deserved—as it needed—a memorial.

Such Pharisees as were fair without and foul within merited this comparison. But outward decorum is not blameworthy in itself. And hypocrites resemble more nearly sources of corruption which are not visibly branded as such. The liar needs to be unmasked and the tomb must be whitened, if both are to be shunned as unclean.

The probability is that St. Matthew—or an editor of the First Gospel—is trying to explain a syncopated report of the original pronouncement. Perhaps the hypocrites were described as laying stress upon the duty of whitewashing

¹ Ezek. xxxix. 11-16.

² Deut. xxvii. 2.

tombs without insisting upon a right intention. And so St. Luke's version of the saying is preferable :—

“Woe to you, because you are like hidden tombs, and the men who walk thereon are ignorant.”

An hypocrite may lead men to walk aright, but woe to *him* if he be an hypocrite. His disciples may follow the way of life or walk which he lays down, but he himself incurs the greater condemnation. For want of a true teacher whose life corresponds with his teaching they remain in ignorance ; and, if they sin, they sin in ignorance. *De non existentibus et non apparentibus eadem est ratio.* “But to him who knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin.”

Surely this Woe fits any scribe or priest who transgressed the Law cited by Josephus in order to further Herod's designs for the honour of the Emperor. Until Tiberias was cleansed, it was no fit abode for ministers of religion according to the view of the more rigorous school of the straiter sect of Judaism. The saying is addressed not to Pharisees in general, but to such scribes or priests as were suborned by Antipas—the Herodians of Tiberias.

J. H. A. HART.

LITERARY ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTICUS.

xviii. 31. *If thou give fully to thy soul the delight of her desire, she will make thee the laughing-stock of thine enemies.*

“If thou givest thy soul the desires that please her, she will make thee a laughing-stock to thine enemies” ;—that is morality. “He that resisteth pleasure crowneth his life” (xix. 5) ;—that is morality with the tone heightened, passing, or trying to pass, into religion.—MATTHEW ARNOLD : *Literature and Dogma*, ch. i.

xix. 7–8, 10. *Never repeat what is told thee, and thou shalt fare never the worse. Whether it be of friend or foe, tell it*

not ; and unless it is a sin to thee, reveal it not. . . . Hast thou heard a word ? let it die with thee : be of good courage, it will not hurt thee.

Second Lord : I will tell you a thing, but you shall let it dwell darkly with you.

First Lord : When you have spoken it, 'tis dead, and I am the grave of it.—*All's Well that Ends Well* (act iv. scene 3).

xx. 2. *It is much better to reprove than to be angry secretly.*

One of St. Patrick's traditional sayings is connected loosely with this text.

St. Patrick said : " It is better for us to admonish the negligent, that crimes may not abound, than to blame the things that have been done." Solomon says, it is better to reprove than to be angry.

xx. 9. *There is a prosperity that a man findeth in misfortunes ; and there is a gain that turneth to loss.*

How often doth that which was called a calamity prove the beginning and cause of a man's happiness ? and, on the contrary, that which happened or came to another with great gratulation and applause, how it hath lifted him but a step higher to his ruin ?—Jonson : *Discoveries* (lxxv.).

xx. 30. *Wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is out of sight, what profit is in them both ? Better is a fool that hideth his folly than a man that hideth his wisdom.*

" I hardly ope my lips," one cries ;

" Simonides, what think you of my rule ? "

" If you're a fool, I think you're very wise ;

If you are wise, I think you are a fool."

—RICHARD GARNETT.

xxi. 12. *There is a cleverness which maketh bitterness to abound.*

You will never be so conformed to God's good pleasure [wrote Fénelon to a friend] as when renouncing all that is called cleverness.

xxi. 20. *A fool lifteth up his voice with laughter ; but a clever man will scarcely smile quietly.*

Laugh not too much : the witty man laughs least :

For wit is news only to ignorance.

—GEORGE HERBERT.

xxii. 8. *He that discourseth to a fool is as one discoursing to a man that slumbereth ; and at the end he will say, What is it ?*

The strongest arm cannot lend any impetus to a feather-weight ; for, instead of speeding on to hit the mark, it soon will drop to the ground, having expended the small energy imparted to it, and having no mass of its own to acquire any momentum. So it is, with great and noble thoughts, and indeed with the very masterpieces of genius, when there are only small, weak, and perverse minds to appreciate them. The wise of all ages have deplored this, with one consent. Jesus, the son of Sirach, for example, observes that *he that telleth a tale to a fool speaketh to one in slumber : when he hath told his tale, he will say, What is the matter ?* And Hamlet declares, *A knavish speech sleeps in a fool's ear.* And Goethe opines . . . that we should not be dismayed at the stupidity of people, for you cannot make circles if you throw your stone into a bog.—SCHOPENHAUER : *Aphorismen zur Lebensweisheit.*

xxii. 11. *Weep for the dead, for light hath failed him ; and weep for a fool, for understanding hath failed him : weep more sweetly for the dead, because he hath found rest ; but the life of a fool is worse than death.*

In solitude [says Schopenhauer (*Aphorismen zur Lebensweisheit*, part i.)], where everyone is thrown upon his own resources, what a man has in himself is disclosed ; the fool, in fine attire, groans under the load of his wretched personality, a load he never can get rid of ; the gifted man, on the other hand, peoples the desert with animating thoughts. Seneca declares that folly is its own burden—*omnis stultitia laborat fastidio sui*—a very true saying, with which we may compare the words of Jesus, the son of Sirach, *The life of a fool is worse than death.*

Elsewhere Schopenhauer quotes this verse again, in contrast to Eccles. i. 18 (*In much wisdom is much grief*), to illustrate the ambiguous relation between happiness and intellect, pointing out that, while folly is burdensome, yet

a large endowment of intellect does tend to estrange a man from other people and their doings ; for the more a man has in himself, the more shallow and insipid will he find the hundreds of things in which other people take delight. Here, it may be, we have an instance of the universal law of compensation. How often one hears it said, and said with some plausibility, that the narrow-

minded man is in the last resort the happiest, unenviable though his fortune may be !

xxiii. 27. *There is nothing better than the fear of the Lord, and nothing sweeter than to take heed to the commandment of the Lord.*

What we have to take care of in the religious training of a child [says Sir Henry Taylor in *Notes upon Life*, p. 138] is, that the love shall be indestructible and permanent ; so that in all the transmutation of doctrine which after years may bring . . . he may preserve the same religious heart ; and whatever other knowledge, or supposed knowledge, shall supervene, may still know that “ there is nothing better than the fear of the Lord, and nothing sweeter than to take heed to the commandments of the Lord.”

xxiv. 19-21. *Come unto me, ye that are desirous of me, and be ye filled with my produce. For my memorial is sweeter than honey, and mine inheritance than the honeycomb. They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty.*

Compare the reminiscence of this passage in St. Bernard's hymn, *de Nomine Jesu* :—

Jesu dulcis memoria,
Dans vera cordi gaudia,
Sed super mel et omnia
Ejus dulcis presentia.

Nil canitur suavius,
Nil auditur jucundius
Nil cogitatur dulcius,
Quam Jesu Dei Filius. . . .

Qui te gustant, esuriunt ;
Qui bibunt, adhuc sitiunt ;
Desiderare nesciunt
Nisi Jesum quem diligunt.

Jesu, decus angelicum,
In aure dulce canticum,
In ore mel mirificum,
In corde nectar coelicum.

xxiv. 31. *I said, I will water my garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed.* .

To lament over deficiency and decay, is at the same time to acknowledge that such is in great part voluntary ; it is to confess that we have cut ourselves off from Him, the source and spring of life and fulness, who has provided for the abundant watering of His garden.—DORA GREENWELL : *A Present Heaven*, p. 17.

xxv. 12. *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of his love, and faith is the beginning of cleaving unto him.*

“The beginning of faith,” saith the Apocrypha, yet herein a true Scripture, “is the cleaving unto God,” and it is only through failure in this steadfast cleaving that the foes who from without or within war against the soul, are enabled to prevail against it. In the soul which faith has rooted and established in God, the enemy asks as vainly as did Archimedes of this earthly globe, for a “point,” wherefrom to remove it from its steadfastness ; so long as it believes, it remains, with Him unto whom belief unites it, among the things which cannot be shaken—fixed, like the limpet, on the Rock of Ages.—DORA GREENWELL, *A Present Heaven*, pp. 29–30.

xxv. 20. *As the going up a sandy way is to the feet of the aged, so is a wife full of words to a quiet man.*

Remember [says Butler in his fourth sermon, speaking to the loquacious] there are persons who love fewer words, an inoffensive sort of people, and who deserve some regard, though of too still and composed tempers for you. Of this number was the son of Sirach : for he plainly speaks from experience, when he says, *As hills of sand are to the steps of the aged, so is one of many words to a quiet man.*

xxvi. 2, 13, 16. *A brave woman rejoiceth her husband ; and he shall fulfil his years in peace. The grace of a wife will delight her husband ; and her knowledge will fatten his bones. As the sun when it ariseth in the highest places of the Lord, so is the beauty of a good wife in the ordering of a man's house.*

There is more reason [says Jowett in his introduction to Plato's *Republic*] for maintaining the sacredness of the marriage tie, when we see the benefit of it, than when we feel only a vague religious horror about the violation of it.

xxvi. 5. *Of three things my heart was afraid : the slander*

of a city, and the assembly of a multitude, and a false accusation : all these are more grievous than death.

“There be three things [says the wise son of Sirach] that mine heart feareth, the slander of a city, the gathering together of an unruly multitude, and a false accusation : all these are worse than death.” But all these are the arena, and the chosen weapons of demagogues.—COLERIDGE : *A Lay Sermon*.

xxvi. 5-6. *There be three things that mine heart feareth ; and for the fourth I was sore afraid : the slander of a city, the gathering together of an unruly multitude, and a false accusation : all these are worse than death. But a grief of heart and sorrow is a woman that is jealous over another woman.*

A most violent passion it is when it taketh place, an unspeakable torment, a hellish torture, an infernal plague, as Ariosto calls it, a fury, a continual fever, full of suspicion, fear and sorrow, a martyrdom, a mirth-marring monster. *The sorrow and grief of heart of one woman jealous of another, is heavier than death* (Ecclus. xxvi. 6), as Peninnah did Hannah, vex her and upbraid her sore. 'Tis a main vexation, a most intolerable burden, a corrosive to all content, a frenzy, a madness itself.—BURTON : *Anatomy of Melancholy* (part iii. sect. 3).

xxvii. 2 and xl. 22. *As a nail sticketh fast between the joinings of the stones ; so doth sin stick fast between buying and selling. . . . Thine eye desireth favour and beauty : but more than both corn while it is green.*

There is a subtle something in the common earth, crops, cattle, air, trees, etc., and in having to do with them at first hand, that forms the only purifying and perennial element for individuals and for society. I must confess I want to see the agricultural occupation of America at first hand permanently broadened. Its gains are the only ones on which God seems to smile. What others—what business, profit, wealth, without a taint ? What fortune else—what dollar—does not stand for, and come from, more or less imposition, lying, unnaturalness ?—WALT WHITMAN, in *Democratic Vistas*.

xxviii. 1-4. *He that revengeth shall find vengeance from the Lord, and he will surely remember his sins. Forgive thy*

neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee, so shall thy sins also be forgiven when thou prayest. One man beareth hatred against another, and doth he seek pardon from the Lord? He sheweth no mercy to a man, which is like himself : and doth he ask forgiveness of his own sins?

There is an apprehension and presentiment, natural to mankind, that we ourselves shall one time or other be dealt with as we deal with others ; and a peculiar acquiescence in, and feeling of, the equity and justice of this equal distribution. This natural notion of equity [says Butler, in his ninth sermon, quoting the above passage] the son of Sirach has put in the strongest way.

xxviii. 13. *Curse the whisperer and double-tongued : for he hath destroyed many that were at peace.*

Alas ! they had been friends in youth ;
But whispering tongues can poison truth.

—COLERIDGE : *Christabel*.

xxviii. 14. *A third person's tongue hath shaken many, and dispersed them from nation to nation ; and it hath pulled down strong cities, and overthrown the houses of great men.*

Let the demagogue but succeed in maddening the crowd [says Coleridge in his Lay Sermon], he may bid defiance to demonstration and direct the madness against whom it pleaseth him. A slanderous tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from nation to nation ; strong cities hath it pulled down, and overthrown the houses of great men.

xxix. 2-5. *Lend to thy neighbour in time of his need, and pay thou thy neighbour again in due season. Keep thy word and deal faithfully with him. . . . Many, when a thing was lent them, reckoned it a windfall, and put to trouble them that helped them. Till he hath received he will kiss a man's hand ; and for his neighbour's money he will speak submissly : but when he should repay, he will prolong the time, and return words of grief, and complain of the times.*

Haydon being very much in want [Keats writes in 1819], I lent him £30. Now in this see-saw game of life, I got nearest to the ground, and this chancery business rivetted me there, so that I . . .

applied to him for payment. He could not. That was no wonder ; but, Goodnan Delver, where was the wonder then ? Why marry in this : he did not seem to care much about it, and let me go without any money with almost nonchalance, when he ought to have sold his drawings to supply me. I shall perhaps be still acquainted with him, but for friendship, that is at an end.

xxx. 8-13. *Cocker thy child, and he shall make thee afraid : play with him, and he will grieve thee. Laugh not with him, lest thou have sorrow with him ; and thou shalt gnash thy teeth in the end. Give him no liberty in his youth, and wink not at his follies. Bow down his neck in his youth, and beat him on the sides while he is a child, lest he wax stubborn, and be disobedient unto thee ; and there shall be sorrow to thy soul. Chastise thy son and take pains with him, lest his shameless behaviour be an offence unto thee.*

Towards their children [says Mr. F. A. Martin, speaking of the Afghans in *Under the Absolute Amir*, p. 66] they are too kind, and spoil them while they are too young, denying them nothing which it is possible to give them, and dressing them in gaudy clothes while they themselves go ragged. They make no attempt to correct them for any wrong-doing, laughing at it rather as a sign of precociousness, and among the Kabulis it is a common thing for a little child to be able to curse fluently, and their curses are often directed at their parents. This neglect in training the young properly accounts for much that is objectionable in the character of the people. It is not until children are seven or eight years old that they begin to correct them, but a good deal of the character of a child is at that age already formed.

xxx. 23. *Love thine own soul, and comfort thy heart, remove sorrow far from thee : for sorrow hath killed many, and there is no profit therein.*

In the seventy-sixth section of his *Enchiridion*, Augustine observes :—

The man who wishes to give alms properly ought to begin with himself, and give to himself first of all. For almsgiving is a work of mercy, and most truly is it said, “to have mercy on thy soul is pleasing to God.”

xxx. 5, 8. *He that loveth gold shall not be justified, and*

he that followeth corruption shall have enough thereof. . . . Blessed is the rich that is found without blemish, and hath not gone after gold.

In his *Notes on Life* (pp. 2 f.) Sir Henry Taylor quotes these verses to show that the getting of money "involves dangers which do not belong to the mere possession of it."

Yet industry must take an interest in its own fruits ; and God has appointed that the mass of mankind shall be moved by this interest, and have their daily labour sweetened by it ; and there may be a blessing even upon the going after gold, if it be not with an inordinate appetite—if the gold be not loved for its own sake, and if the manner of it be without blemish. But the danger arises out of the tendency of the human mind to forget the end in the means, and the difficulty of going after gold for the love of the benefits which it may confer, without going after it also for the mere love of getting it, and keeping it, which is "following corruption."

xxx. 30. *Drunkenness increaseth the rage of a fool unto his hurt ; it diminisheth strength and addeth wounds.*

A drunkard, says Earle in his *Microcosmographie* (lvii.),—

is one that hath let himself go from the hold and stay of reason, and lies open to the mercy of all temptations. No lust but finds him disarmed and fenceless, and with the least assault enters. If any mischief escape him, it was not his fault, for he was laid as fair for it as he could.

xxxii. 7-8. *Speak, young man, if there be need of thee : and yet scarcely when thou art asked twice. Let thy speech be short, comprehending much in few words ; be as one that knoweth and yet holdeth his tongue.*

Compare Macaulay's remark on Pitt in the House of Commons :—

His facility amounted to a vice. He was not the master, but the slave of his own speech. So little self-command had he when once he felt the impulse, that he did not like to take part in a debate when his mind was full of an important secret of state. "I must sit still," he once said to Lord Shelburne on such an occasion, "for, when once I am up, everything that is in my mind comes out."

xxxii. 23. *In every work trust thine own soul ; for this is the keeping of the commandments.*

Since inquiry and examination can relate only to things so obscure and uncertain as to stand in need of it, and to persons who are capable of it ; the proper advice to be given to plain honest men, to secure them from the extremes both of superstition and of irreligion, is that of the son of Sirach : *In every good work trust thy own soul, for this is the keeping of the commandments.*—BUTLER (at the close of the Fifth Sermon).

xxxiii. 13. *As the clay of the potter in his hand, all his ways are according to his good pleasure ; so men are in the hand of him that made them, to render unto them according to his judgment.*

The theological idea of reprobation was an idea of Jewish theology, as of ours, an idea familiar to Paul, and a part of his training, an idea which probably he never consciously abandoned. But its complete secondariness in him is clearly established by other considerations than those which we have drawn from the place and manner of his introduction of it. The very phrase about the clay and the potter is not Paul's own ; he does but repeat a stock theological figure. Isaiah had said : " Lord, we are the clay, and thou our potter, and we are all the work of Thy hand." Jeremiah had said, in the Lord's name, to Israel : " Behold, as the clay in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel." And the son of Sirach comes yet nearer to Paul's very words : " As the clay is in the potter's hand to fashion it at his pleasure, so man is in the hand of him that made him, to render to them as liketh him best."—M. ARNOLD : *St. Paul and Protestantism*.

xxxiii. 14. *Good is set over against evil.*

This at least is certain [says Father Rickaby in his *Oxford and Cambridge Conferences* (second series, p. 141)]. Scandals must come, and heresies must be, and against evil there is good, and one way lies open for us personally to overcome evil, the way of the holy cross. *Sunt lacrimae rerum*, but the vision of the Majesty of God will some day dry our tears. Till then, faith and hope in that majesty, and such contemplation of it as faith renders possible, shall be our comfort on the way.

xxxiii. 16. *I awaked up last of all, as one that gathereth after the grape-gatherers. By the blessing of the Lord I profited, and filled my wine-press like a gatherer of grapes.*

Compare the reminiscence of this verse in Macaulay's essay on Milton :—

It is not our intention to attempt anything like a complete examination of the poetry of Milton. The public has long been agreed as to the merit of the most remarkable passages, the incomparable harmony of the numbers, and the excellence of the style, which no rival has been able to equal, and no parodist to degrade, which displays in their highest perfection the idiomatic powers of the English tongue, and to which every ancient and every modern language has contributed something of grace, of energy, or of music. In the vast field of criticism on which we are entering, innumerable reapers have already put their sickles. Yet the harvest is so abundant that the negligent search of a straggling gleaner may be rewarded with a sheaf.

xxxiii. 19-23. *To son and wife, to brother and friend, give not power over thee while thou livest ; and give not thy goods to another, lest thou repent and make supplication for them again. Whilst thou yet livest and breath is in thee, give not thyself over to anybody. For better it is that thy children should supplicate thee, than that thou shouldest look to the hand of thy sons. In all thy works keep the upper hand ; bring not a stain on thine honour. In the day that thou endest the days of thy life, and in the time of death, distribute thine inheritance.*

These words might be the motto for *King Lear* and *Père Goriot*. "Thou hadst little wit in thy bald crown," says the Fool to Lear, "when thou gavest thy golden one away."

xxxiii. 24. *Fodder, a stick, and a burden for an ass ; bread and discipline and work for a servant.*

Xenophon wisheth one rather to play at tables, dice, or make a jester of himself (though he might be far better employed) than do nothing. The Egyptians of old, and many flourishing commonwealths since, have enjoined labour and exercise to all sorts of men, to be of some vocation and calling, and to give an account of their time, to prevent those grievous mischiefs that come by idleness ; *for as fodder, whip, and burthen belong to the ass, so meat, correction, and worke, unto the servant.* . . . But, amongst us, the badge of gentry is idleness.—BURTON : *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

xxxiv. 5-7. *Divinations, and soothsayings, and dreams*

are vain ; and the heart fancieth, as a woman's in travail. If they be not sent from the Most High in thy visitation, give not thy heart unto them. For dreams have led many astray : and they have failed by putting their hope in them.

Doubtless [says Izaak Walton, in his life of Sir Henry Wotton] the good Dean did well know that common Dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts, or of the business of the day past, or are the result of our over-engaged affections, when we betake ourselves to rest ; and knew that the observation of them may turn to silly superstitions, as they too often do.

xxxiv. 9-10. *A man that hath travelled knoweth many things ; and he that hath much experience will declare wisdom. He that hath no experience knoweth little : but he that hath travelled is full of prudence.*

Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits . . .

I rather would entreat thy company

To see the wonders of the world abroad,

Than, living dully sluggardized at home,

Wear out thy youth with shapeless idleness.

—SHAKESPEARE : *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (act. i. sc. 1).

xxxv. 3. *To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord ; and to depart from unrighteousness is a propitiation.*

The main doctrine of Judaism on the subject of the atonement is comprised in the single word Repentance ; and under repentance was included and understood amendment. It was not believed that there is ever any radical impossibility to repent and reform. It is never too late to mend. The simple adage of the sage sums up the developed teaching of the later Judaism, which, on this side, had nothing to add to it : “ he who covers his sins shall not prosper, but whoso confesses and forsakes them shall have mercy.” Or, as Sirach has phrased it : “ To depart from wickedness is that which pleases God ; to give up unrighteousness is atonement.”—MONTEFIORE : *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 524.

xxxv. 17. *The prayer of the humble pierceth the clouds.*

What does God's nearness practically mean ? It means, I suppose, firstly, that God knows and is cognizant of man's actions and thoughts. He is not merely omniscient because he cannot help knowing everything, but because he cares to know all about his

human children. It means, secondly, that God enters into ethical relations with man, that he helps those who seek goodness to find it. . . . God may be in heaven, but "the prayer of the humble pierces the clouds."—C. J. MONTEFIORE: *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 428.

xxxvii. 1, 4. *Every friend saith, I am his friend also : but there is a friend, which is only a friend in name. . . . There is a companion, which rejoiceth in the prosperity of a friend, but in the time of trouble will be against him.*

Compare Scott's description, in the second chapter of *The Bride of Lammermoor*, of the lip-loyal friends who returned with the Master from his father's funeral—

to the tower, there to carouse deep healths to the memory of the deceased, [while the Master of Ravenswood] listened with dark and sullen brow to ebullitions which he considered justly as equally evanescent with the crimson bubbles on the brink of the goblet, or at least with the vapours which its contents excited in the brains of the revellers around him. When the last flask was emptied, they took their leave, with deep protestations—to be forgotten on the morrow if indeed those who made them should not think it necessary for their safety to make a more solemn retractation."

xxxvii. 14. *For a man's soul is sometimes wont to tell him more than seven watchmen that sit above in an high tower.*

The poet, says Sir Henry Taylor in his *Notes on Life* (pp. 140 f.),—

is not to forget that for the cultivation of the highest order of poetry, it is necessary that he should be conversant with life and nature at large, and that his poetry should spring out of his life, and that his life should abound in duties as well as in contemplations. For that poetic vision which is the vision of the introverted eye alone, has but a narrow scope : and observation comes of action, and most of that action which is the most responsible. And if it be true that "a man's mind is sometimes wont to tell him more than seven watchmen that sit alone in an high tower," it is also true that that man will hear most of all who hearkens to his own mind and to the seven watchmen besides.

JAMES MOFFATT.

KERNEL AND HUSK IN OLD TESTAMENT STORIES

Is Wellhausen's domination over the field of Old Testament study at an end ? There are some who are roundly asserting that the tyranny is overpast, and wondering that it has been endured so long ; others hold that nothing which has been written or discovered since the appearance of his views in 1878 has done anything serious to shake their validity. To decide the question, we must distinguish. As historical literary criticism, his work holds the field still. Fresh investigations and younger writers alike strengthen its foundations or add to its superstructure. The very differences among "critics," when analysed, are caused by loyalty to his methods and bear witness to the strength of his main conclusions. Neither Eerdmans nor Cheyne on the one side, nor the conservatives as represented by Dr. Orr and Mr. Wiener on the other, have made any noteworthy impression even upon the outworks of his scheme.

His views, however, have been challenged in so far as they offer a theory of the history of Hebrew religion. That theory is well known. The prophets were the founders of ethical monotheism. Before Amos, the religion of Israel allows us to see little difference between it and its heathen neighbours. "Polydemonism," as Marti calls it, the veneration of holy places, objects and persons, ancestor worship, image worship, and relics of totemism, show us that in Moses, at best, we have a religious leader who

inoculated the "old-Semitic religion," as it existed in the Israelite tribes, with the conception that Jahveh was their own peculiar God, revealing himself to them in the thunder or figured in their worship as a bull; while, for the patriarchs, their dim shapes never emerge from the mists of pure legend.

Next, archaeology entered the field. It informed us that Canaan enjoyed a high civilisation long before the Hebrew invasion. Babylon and Egypt had both done their best for it, even as early as the days when Abraham left Haran. It is true that archaeology has found no actual testimony to the existence of the patriarchs; but archaeology has had no difficulty in showing that the developed beliefs attributed to them in Genesis are at least as conceivable in the society of their days as are the rude superstitions which the literary critics have so industriously emphasised. Indeed, monotheism itself, we have been informed, was familiar both in Babylon and Egypt; why should it not have reproduced itself in the minds of the ancestors of the Hebrews? Abraham appears, in Winckler's phrase, as the Babylonian, Joseph as the Egyptian, and the reality of the spiritual religion of Israel in pre-Mosaic times is thus secured for us, though at the cost of its independence and originality.

More recently, a third method of study has attracted many eager followers. Comparative religion, at the suggestion of archaeology, has fastened upon the striking similarities between the early Genesis stories and the cosmological myths of Babylon, and, subsequently, upon the hero-stories of Israel, with their curious echoes of the folk-stories of every age and clime. The Old Testament stories, it urges, are really members of a class whose distribution is world-wide; and can we regard the Hebrew species as free from characteristics which are the property of

the ethnic genus ? Thus we find ourselves once more doubting whether there was much that we could call religion, in the higher sense, before the prophets ; the hint which archaeology has given works to its own disadvantage ; and we are bidden to restore to the prophets the glory of being the real founders of monotheistic religion—a glory which every one of them would have energetically repudiated.

But is this the correct deduction from the teaching of comparative religion ? The purpose of this paper is to review some recent studies for which this new and fascinating science has been responsible, dealing mainly with the two groups of stories just referred to, in order, if possible, to discover the real bearing of their evidence on the character of pre-prophetic religion.

Let us turn then to the traditions of the origins of the world. The chief parallels between Babylon and the Biblical narratives are three ; the creation, the flood, and the succession of the patriarchs between Adam and Noah. Into the details it is needless for us to enter : It is enough to say that the two sets of narratives are related to one another, roughly, as Jahveh is related to the gods of the Babylonian pantheon : On the one hand, a severe simplicity, a child-like directness, an unmistakeable depth of moral earnestness ; on the other, a luxuriant imagination, a grotesque and sensuous fulness of detail, and a striking absence of any moral interest. How superior then, you say, were the unsophisticated Hebrews. This is true ; but what shall we reply when we are asked about the origin of the narratives ? Did Babylon borrow from Israel ? That can hardly be the case, whether we think of the relation between the two peoples, the form of the two sets of stories, or the great age of the Babylonian set. Had they a common origin in the primal Arabian home of the race ? This supposition is equally difficult, inasmuch

as the stories suggest the scenery and conditions of Babylon rather than Arabia; and because a minute comparison between the two sets points constantly to a dependence of Genesis on Babylon.¹

In the first chapter of Genesis, for example, Jahveh says strangely, "Let *us* make man," and Marduk, who is the agent of creation in the Babylonian story, while he creates all the rest of the world on his own initiative, consults his father Ea when he contemplates the creation of man. In the list of patriarchs, the seventh, Enoch, who alone was saved from death—"he walked with God, and he was not, for God took him"—corresponds to Eboranchus in the list of Berossus, who must be identical with Enmeduranki, a legendary king of Sippar, the city sacred to Shamash, the sun. Enmeduranki appears seventh in the list of the early kings of Babylon; and he was taken by the sun to his own realm, and shown everything therein. Curiously enough, the years of Enoch's life are 365. Johns² points out that, in addition to the striking similarities between the flood story in Genesis and the Babylonian tablets, there are grounds for thinking that the very word *tebah* is the Babylonian *Tabu*, and also that while there is no reference in the Babylonian story, as we possess it, to Noah's connexion with the vine, a tablet has been discovered containing words—perhaps a schoolboy's notes—referring to the ark and the deluge, and, on the other side, a list of different kinds of wine. May it not be, he asks, that the parallels between Hebrew and Babylonian will turn out to be very much more numerous than the parallels which have so far come to our knowledge?

It must also be noticed that these parallels are not simply

¹ See C. H. W. Johns, *Influence of Babylonian Mythology upon the Old Testament*, in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

between Babylonian and Hebrew, but between Babylonian on the one hand and both J and P, the prophetic and the priestly codes, on the other. It is P whose account of the order of creation corresponds almost entirely with that of the Babylonians, and which gives us the length of Enoch's life. On the other hand, it is J which gives us the account of the garden of Eden and the fall of man, a story whose setting certainly suggests Babylonian influence, although no actual Babylonian parallel has yet been found. Kent¹ suggests, ingeniously, though not very probably, it must be confessed, that J wove a garment out of scattered Babylonian threads, Adapa, Gilgamesh, etc. In the flood story, it is P which refers to the measurements of the ark, the pitch with which its sides were smeared, and to Mount Ararat, corresponding to Mount Nisir in the Babylonian narrative; and it is J which recounts the sending of the raven and the dove (the Babylonian story has three birds, in the order—dove, swallow, raven), and the acceptableness of the odour of Noah's sacrifice to Jahveh.² It is noteworthy, too, that in the recently discovered version of the Babylonian flood story, on the tablet found by Hilprecht at Nippur in 1909, and attributed with much likelihood to the year 2100 B.C., or thereabouts, i.e., before the time of Abraham, the parallels are all with P (some 1,500 years later), rather than with J.

While, therefore, the J and P stories may have been derived from a common source, it is certainly remarkable that each should insert Babylonian details omitted in the other; and it must be remembered that the tablets contain

¹ *Student's Old Testament*, 1. pp. 370 ff.

² Gordon (*Early Traditions of Genesis*, 1907), following Wellhausen and Budde, supposes that there are different strains of tradition in J; the flood story, he believes, appears in only one of these; but the character of J as a compiler rather than a simple narrator, if Gordon is right, only suggests the greater antiquity of the stories as a whole.

other details unknown to both (e.g., the celebration at the completion of the building of the ark, the thunder of the tempest, and the grief of Ut-Napishtim—Noah—when, at the conclusion of the rain, he “opened a hole so as to let the light fall on his cheeks.” It will also be noticed that the two main parallels, the creation and the flood stories, are as unsuitable to North Arabia, the supposed original home of the Semitic race, as they are to Palestine, but exactly suitable to Babylon, with its broad plains, its large rivers, its high cultivation, and its liability to inundation. If, however, Babylon itself borrowed its flood story, it can only have gone to that ancient source which has given flood stories to every part of the world.

It would seem, then, that Israel must have borrowed from Babylon. Then did Israel borrow from Babylon the monotheism and the worship of Jahveh which are implied from Genesis i. onwards? We are told by many Assyriologists that the Babylonians were really monotheists in spite of their polytheistic language and system; and also that Jahveh, or Jahu, was a Babylonian god,¹ and that the name was interchanged with the Babylonian word for God, as, in the Old Testament, Jahveh is interchanged with Elohim (God). But the theory of a borrowed monotheism needs only to be examined to reveal its inadequacy. In the first place, if the Babylonians were monotheists, there was no place in their religion for Jahu, who, at best, is but a subordinate god; and therefore, if Jahu was borrowed from the Babylonians, what becomes of Babylonian monotheism? Secondly, if there was a latent or esoteric monotheism in Babylonia in certain religious circles (and this is entirely possible), there is certainly none in the stories we have been discussing; and to account

¹ See however S. Langdon, *Expository Times*, December 1910, p. 139, who doubts whether “iau” is anything but an interrogative pronoun.

for these stories on a monotheistic basis would prove a task of considerable magnitude. In the third place, if the material of the stories was borrowed, it was stringently modified and purified; and the monotheistic and moral impulse which got rid of all its mythology and grossness must be explained somehow. Was this also borrowed? Did Babylon lend to Israel the knife which cut away all that was impure and non-religious in its own religious productions? There is nothing in either set of stories to suggest this. It is far simpler and easier to believe that the Hebrews, being fundamentally monotheists, found their stories in Palestine, saturated as Palestine had been with Babylonian influences, and transferred them (as far as they could be transferred) to Jahveh, just as story-tellers of the Middle Ages carried over the old pagan myth of the magic cauldron into their own Christian atmosphere and there turned it into the beautiful legend of the Holy Grail.

It has also been urged that the narratives in P are the fruit of renewed intercourse with the Babylonian legends during the exile. This, however, is far from probable; since, firstly, it is very hard to believe that scrupulously pious Jews, such as the authors of P must have been, and sternly opposed to anything savouring of anthropomorphism, would have consciously turned to what they certainly would feel to be heathen fables; and unconscious influence is hardly to be supposed. Secondly, there is nothing to suggest a closer or more recent connexion between Babylon and P than between Babylon and J. Thirdly, the recently discovered flood fragment, mentioned above, while nearest to P in form, could not have been consulted by the authors of P, since, if we may believe its discoverer, it had been lost long before their time.

But now for the differences between Hebrew and Baby-

lonian. These have often been pointed out, yet seldom allowed the needed emphasis. Most scholars have been so anxious to establish the similarities that they have ill performed the second yet equally important task. How is it that while the outer resemblances, in what may be called the embroidery, are so close, there is such a difference in the spirit, in the actual texture, of the narratives? What was the process by which the polytheism was expurgated? Why did J, like the Babylonian author, describe Noah's sacrifice on leaving the ark, but alter "the gods gathered like flies," etc., to "when Jahveh smelled the pleasant odour, Jahveh said in his heart"? What the Babylonian gods did was to start quarreling about the responsibility for causing the flood so satisfactorily brought to an end. Why did P, in the first verses of the first chapter of Genesis, preserve the dangerously mythological words *tehom* (= *tiamat*, primeval monster) and *rahaph* (= brood, as a bird over an egg) and yet remove all the mythology which they suggest? Whatever the source of the story or the manner of its borrowing, they took the characteristic words and changed the characteristic expressions. The primeval monster could no more influence their faith in Jahveh than the traditional language about the sons of God could shake their conception of Jahveh's solitary supremacy.

But again, why should the Hebrews have retained the characteristic words? Why not tell the whole story in their own monotheistic way? No one who has studied the history of Hebrew literature will be surprised that they did not. The genius of the Hebrews is above all things compilatory and conservative. Mere consistency is nothing to them. Even in books whose homogeneity is unquestioned, conceptions appear and disappear with startling suddenness. Consider the way in which Isaiah introduces, and then neglects altogether, the figure of the Messiah;

Deutero-Isaiah might seem in chapters xl. and xlvi. never to have heard of the servant whom he describes so touchingly in chapters xlv. and liii.¹ Ezekiel thinks as little of individual responsibility in chapters xvi. and xxiii. as he thinks of national responsibility in chapters xviii. and xxxiii.; the glimpse of survival after death to which Job attains in chapter xix. he forgets altogether in the bulk of the remainder of the book. What wonder then that the Hebrew story-tellers were in no wise incommoded by the literary or religious associations of the words they used? They could even tell us of the sons of God and the daughters of men (Gen. vi. 1); they could speak as if Jahveh had really fought with Rahab and the dragon at the beginning of time (Isa. li. 9, 10; Ps. lxxxix. 10 ff.; xl. 5; lxxiv. 12), or employed a sea-serpent to do His bidding on His foes (Am. ix. 2), or of some conflict with a host of enemies (Isa. lix. 15 ff.). As Gunkel remarks,² the writers themselves knew nothing of the mythological bearing of all these references. The mythological language was evidently traditional; but so strong was the Hebrew monotheism that these suspicious words could be used without the slightest danger. This monotheism was not the conception, however, of a few chosen souls; in that case, to use such terminology would have been to court misunderstanding and to betray the faith. It was the monotheism of the whole people.

So with the language of Genesis. Mythology touches the fringe; but it cannot reach to the focus. That focus is the immutable belief in one God, intensely interested in men, and claiming their attention and obedience. The extent of Babylonian influence in popular religious language

¹ If, as Duhm, Bertholet, Kusters, Whitehouse, and others hold, the "servant songs" were not by Deutero-Isaiah, the above remark is equally applicable to the editor of chapters xl.-lv.

² *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 107, 110.

is the strongest possible proof of the gulf which separated the Hebrews from Babylon.

We now turn to the second line of investigation. Here the Old Testament narratives seem to reflect the influences not of Babylon but of the world's common store of myths, legends, and folk-tales. It is well known that similarities between the folk-lore of different peoples, as between their children's games, range very much more widely than any racial or linguistic connexion would appear to allow. The same stories may be found in every part of the world. For instance, the tale of the giant with no heart in his body is found in India, in Central Africa, and in Greenland. Miss Cox has traced the story of Cinderella into 318 variants ; and Hartland has paralleled the story of Perseus and Andromeda from the myths of every race. The legend of Undine is reproduced by the peasants of modern Greece. The story of the infant Moses recalls the myth of Sargon and his exposure when a child ; the story of Joseph in Potiphar's house seems to echo the Egyptian tale of the Two Brothers ; but both these stories occur where any kind of Babylonian or Egyptian influence is unknown ; the central incident of the Egyptian tale, the separable heart (not found in Genesis) occurs in similar tales, for instance, among the Hottentots, Basutos, Samoyeds and Ceylonese.

The natural conclusion from all this is that what is at once set down as a mere myth in other races cannot be historical truth among the Hebrews. Moreover, the myth itself is something more than myth. It is not pure invention, but the reflection of custom or savage belief. Thus, it is a widespread belief that a man can put aside, or lose, his soul, as he is said to do in the tale of the Two Brothers ; and Clodd has shown how the English folk-tale of Tom Tit Tot is a kind of museum of primitive and barbarian convictions, found literally from China to Peru.

The Biblical instances we have mentioned are by no means solitary. Take the case of Samson, recently approached from this point of view by Stahn. The Samson legend, he argues, should not be set down as a collection of myths, but rather of popular tales, in which history and myth are blended. The various incidents in the Samson stories may be roughly divided into two classes, aetiologial and purely descriptive. The former may have had their origin elsewhere; that is, we may easily assume such place-names as Partridge (cryer) spring, or Jawbone hill, on the one hand, and, on the other, general traditions of a strong man who cheerfully yet often with weariness performs great labours for men, like Hercules, coupled with folk-memories of some actual hero of a perhaps not very distant past; and we can then understand the narratives in Judges xiii.-xvi. The other stories about Samson, Stahn suggests, may have had a solar origin; his birth, his blinding, his relations with women. On this point it may be remarked that the solar origin of myths, once triumphantly promulgated by Max Müller, and subsequently relegated to obscurity, now comes to life again in a slightly different form. We may add that the hair motive in the Hebrew story of Samson is repeated in the classical story of Nisus king of Megara and the purple hair which his daughter pulled out while he was asleep; in the modern Greek tale of the magician's white hair which the stork removed to gratify his friend the Turkish Aga, thus causing the magician to die immediately; and in the Sumatra tale of the Nias chief whose enemies had caught him but could not tell how to kill him, until his wife informed them that his life was bound up with a hair on his head as hard as copper wire; his death followed as soon as the hair was plucked out. Readers of Meredith will remember the "identical." The belief in the magic

power of hair often caused the medieval witch to be shaved before her trial.

Gunkel, in his *Elias*, has pointed out the large number of mythical "motifs" in the Elijah story. Feeding by living creatures in the wilderness finds a parallel in the story of Semiramis (Diod. Sic., *Bibl. Hist.* ii. 4), and in other stories, both classic and medieval. Gunkel compares the story of the suckling of Romulus and Remus, and many myths of grateful and kindly animals, perhaps often originally incarnated divinities. The act of Elijah in binding Elisha to himself by throwing his mantle over him reminds one of the magic act by which a person or a thing is joined inseparably to oneself or to a certain place; the reader of the Idylls might think of Merlin and Viviane. Heavenly horses and chariots meet us frequently. It cannot be contended that these parallels are extraordinarily close; they are not intended to be. Gunkel's contention is that the whole atmosphere is that of legend rather than of history, and that the story moves in the same circle of possibilities as the stories of the heroes of other races.

The story of Jonah has been subjected to even more exhaustive treatment by Schmidt. Beginning with the remark that the sea and sea-stories were really foreign to the Hebrew genius, he argues that the incident of the great fish has probably been borrowed, and he gives reasons for thinking that, for the Hebrew narrator, its origin was Joppa, which, he reminds us, was Jonah's port of departure. But he goes on to collect instances of the fish, or sea-monster, who swallows men, from classical myths—Hercules and Hesione, Perseus and Andromeda, Jason, and the tales in Lucian—and refers under the same head to the Babylonian myths and their echoes in the Old Testament, to which we have already pointed. Next, he turns to the fish as the rescuer of the unfortunate hero, quoting

the instances of Arion, Phalanthos, who were both rescued by dolphins from drowning, and Koiranos, and stories, in Hesiod and others of dead bodies drawn to shore by fishes; this last myth he traces back to the Tyrian Melkart. Lastly, he gathers up the references to the underworld as a fish, when, as in the stories of the fish as a hostile monster, the original idea seems to be that of the sun sinking in defeat and weakness into the jaws of the terrible sea dragon; and so we return to the solar myth once more.

There is, however, another line of mythological investigation, of which account must finally be taken. It combines the two general conceptions previously examined. Its mythology is at once Babylonian and universal. The whole of Babylonian mythology, it holds, is astral. The stories of the Babylonian gods in their relations to one another and to the world are dramatisations of astronomic phenomena as understood by the dwellers in the vast Mesopotamian plains. The myths can only be understood when we bear in mind their astral origin; but they are not confined to Babylon. Variations of them are found everywhere; and the dealings of Anu and Bel and Ea and Marduk with one another can be paralleled in the myths of the ancient Teutons and Slavs in the old world and of Mexico in the new.¹ Winckler asserts that the mythologies of all nations are really identical; and since Babylon alone supplies the key, it would seem that from the Babylonians, or from their ancestors in some far-off age, the myths of the rest of the world must have been derived. It was a fixed Babylonian idea, Winckler adds, that everything which exists or happens on earth has

¹ See Stucken, *Astralmythen*; Winckler, *Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier* (*passim*),

its counterpart (a Platonist might almost suggest, its *idée*) in heaven. Hence, the next step is to trace out these relations of the heavenly beings to one another in the actual hero-stories and quasi-historical narratives of the world. As it would seem, the narrator takes actual tradition as his material, and modifies it, according to this "schema" as Shakespeare modified Plutarch and Holinshed in accordance with his own deep understanding of human nature. A good example of this may be found in Erbt's *Elia*, *Elisa*, *Iona*. Erbt holds that the narratives of Elijah were originally contained in two distinct documents, both of which also contained the story of Jonah, and one of which added that of Elisha. The three prophets correspond to Shamash (sun), Sin (moon), and Ishtar (Venus), and these again in Babylonian thought correspond to the three great gods, Anu, Bel, Ea. The three stopping-places in Elijah's journey before his assumption, again correspond to the three great Babylonian divisions of the universe. Elijah fleeing before Jezebel and sitting under the juniper tree is the disappearing sun in winter in the underworld. Elijah's mantle, cast by Elisha over Jordan, corresponds to the net with which Marduk conquers the dragon. Elisha's need of music in the campaign against Moab is to cure him from melancholy, the disease always associated with the moon. Naaman is nothing else but Tammuz, entering, like Ishtar, the underworld of death and disease; he is healed by stepping into the water, because the sun must cross the boundary stream of the underworld in spring.

In the other of the two accounts, containing the stories of Elijah and Jonah alone, Elijah appears as the moon. Thus, the drought lasts three years because the new moon is invisible for three days each month. The scene on Mount Carmel is interpreted as an autumn new year's festival.

In this book, Elisha disappears ; his call is really the call of Jehu ; and corresponding to Elijah as moon is Jonah as sun. It becomes the task of the critic, with the help of the historical books, to work his way behind this allegorisation of the truth to the events which suggested it.

For the industry and ingenuity of the author, one of Winckler's most vigorous disciples, we have nothing but admiration. These qualities are as remarkable here as in his earlier work, *Die Hebräer* (1906). But against this astral theory there are two very serious arguments. (1) It is too simple ; if we have evidence of Babylonian astral influence wherever we find two characters, or three, in relation to each other, or a journey, or a defeat, or a stream, or a reference to North and South, where shall we not find it ? The whole thing has been reduced (though quite unconsciously) to an absurdity in Jensen's *Gilgamesch-Epos*, where almost every character in the Bible, in the New Testament as well as the Old, is an echo of the Solar hero Gilgamesh. (2) The facts it explains can be as easily explained in other ways. We have already seen how Gunkel finds ethnic mythology, but no "astral" motives, in the stories of Elijah. Again, if we turn to the book of Esther, we shall find Winckler bringing forward his own astral theories ; Ahasuerus is Bel or heaven ; Mordecai, Marduk or spring ; Haman, Nebo or autumn ; Vashti, Tammuz or Ishtar of the underworld ; Esther, Ishtar of the upper world. Thus the feast of Purim is in reality a celebration of the victory of spring over autumn and winter. But equally suggestive (or astonishing) explanations have been given by Jensen (who finds that all the names in the book are really names of Elamite gods), Meissner, Zimmern, Schwally and Willrich (who finds in the book an account of thinly veiled events in Egypt

in the first century B.C.).¹ Jampel² quotes de Péré's *jeu d'esprit* in which he shows, by similar reasoning, that Napoleon was really Apollo,—an up-to-date version of Whateley's famous contention.

We must therefore regard the astral hypothesis as still far from probable. But this does not invalidate the possibilities which we have been considering through this paper, viz., that the old Hebrew stories, like the folk-stories of other nations, possibly rest on a historical basis, or on some recollection of an actual though distant past, but have been worked up on imaginative yet traditional lines; that is, the material is run, so to speak, into certain moulds which have been responsible for the general shapes of such folk-stories in all parts of the world. Yet these Hebrew stories are different from all others. There has been implanted in them a seed found nowhere else—national zeal combined with confident loyalty to Jahveh, the national God, at once merciful and holy. From this seed has grown the great tree whose leaves are for the healing of the nations.

We can see the same combination of patriotic zeal and religious trust animating the earlier chapters of Daniel. But there the second element is beginning to be subordinated to the first. In Esther, whatever be the origin of the story—Babylonian or Elamite myth, or some actual reminiscence of the Persian court and empire—the process is carried further, and God is not so much as mentioned by the side of the nation. How different the book would have been if written by the men who told the stories of Samson and Elijah!

But it will be asked, if these stories are not true, of what use are they? In reply, it must be remembered, first,

¹ See Jampel, *das Buch Esther*, and Nöldeke in *E.B.*, art. "Esther."

² *Op. cit.* p. 89.

that the legendary character of incidents does not prove that the persons of whom they are told were unhistorical. Alfred lives, in spite of his cakes ; and Bruce has survived his spider. Secondly, many of the Old Testament stories, notably in the case of the patriarchs, are no more affected by these investigations than the bulk of the narratives in Kings. But thirdly, are they any less valuable than when believed to be historically true ? Would any widow feel her faith shaken if she could not be sure that the housewife at Zarephath had her meal and oil miraculously secured to her ? Does any bereaved mother believe that her son will be restored to her because the Shunammite's son was recalled to life ? Paradox as it sounds, the narratives are of use, not as history, but as parable. The real foundation of our faith rests, not in narratives of events, but in the convictions of men and women—convictions which strengthened the heart and nourished the soul in days gone by, and which, when once embraced, do so still. We do not believe in God's providence and grace because Samson destroyed the Philistines' crops, or Elisha made the iron to swim ; but because the prophets staked everything on it—not in vain ; because the Psalmists clung to it in their stormiest experiences and found it an unshaken rock ; and because Jesus clothed Himself with it as with a garment when He hung naked upon the cross for our redemption.

This conclusion, that the belief of the Hebrews was their own, however their stories may have been borrowed, is only doubtful when monotheism is misunderstood. If, when we use the word, we look for a reasoned and philosophic conviction that there can be but one supreme being in the universe, an Absolute which can permit no second, or if we look for an ardent faith that will impose its "no God but Allah" at the point of the sword upon every

unbeliever, we shall look in vain.¹ But if we mean by monotheism the conviction that I and my fellow-countrymen and all that we may do matter intensely to Jahveh, and that He matters intensely to us; that beside His approbation and blame nothing else is really worth considering; that if we have His favour, we have everything, and that to us any other god is like another woman's husband to a wedded wife; in that case, monotheism will be found on every page of the Old Testament and, at their best moments, in the hearts of the earliest Hebrews of whom we have any knowledge. Doubtless their faith at times failed them—it has failed others; but this does not prove that the faith was non-existent. They might bow down before images; Amos does not appear to protest against this practice²; nor did Mediaeval Catholicism. They might use language, like the oft-quoted words of David in 1 Samuel xxvi. 19, which implied the existence of other gods; St. Paul himself did something similar,³ but no one calls him a polytheist or even a henotheist.

Baentsch, in his sympathetic and suggestive tract on the *Monotheism of the Ancient East and of Israel*, attempts to trace this monotheism itself to Babylon. He does not believe that the prophets in any sense either discovered or invented monotheism; but he points out that the monotheism of the East rested on speculative grounds, and that of Israel on religious experience; that the former does not exclude polytheism, but is rather its presupposition, while the latter allows no rival to its

¹ The word Elohim (God) seems, however, to have a metaphysical rather than a personal meaning, i.e., "beings of a supernatural character," in some passages, e.g., Gen. vi. 2, Ps. lxxxii. 6.

² Kittel (*Scientific Study of the Old Testament*, p. 52) has pointed out that there are but few clear references to the use of idols in public worship even in Canaanite heathenism.

³ See 1 Cor. x. 20–22; contrast verse 19.

one God ; and that the former follows from the Oriental astral beliefs, while the latter has nothing to do therewith. So far, we can entirely agree. He then, however, goes on to argue that Moses learnt his monotheism from the other religions of Egypt and Midian (the latter a province of the Minean empire, where the astral religion flourished) ; that this monotheism became national when the Hebrews entered Palestine ; but that contact with the Canaanite ideas of religion, borrowed from the religions of Babylon and Egypt, set beside the national Jahveh another or "world-Jahveh" ; and that not until the time of the prophets were these two Jahvehs combined. The difficulties here are two. (1) The monotheism that Moses learnt must have been very different from what he is represented as having taught, or the Hebrews as having learnt from him.¹ (2) Assuming that the Hebrews learnt the Babylonian myths in Canaan, these myths must have been in polytheistic and not monotheistic form. It is true that Baentsch finds traces of monotheism among the Canaanites ; but there is neither proof nor likelihood that the esoteric Babylonian teaching on the various gods as forms of one single God could have found its way to Canaan either before or after the arrival of the Hebrews.

The fact is, that we have been misled by the vestiges of lower beliefs which survive in the higher faith. Doubtless there were elements in the cultus and thought of early Israel that can only be explained as survivals from totemism or ancestor worship. The lower constantly survives in the higher ; this is true of modern Greece, where the peasant retains much of the faith of Theocritus and Homer ; it is true of India and China. But is the higher therefore a

¹ It is hard to believe that Volz is right in making a distinction between Moses' influence as a religious and as a national leader.

delusion? As well assert that ancient and medieval Christianity were sheer paganism, and that Luther and Calvin were the first to teach Christianity in central Europe. The real gift of prophecy to Hebrew religion can be best seen in Amos iii. 2; "You only have I known among all the nations of the earth; therefore will I punish you for your iniquities." Israel's moral responsibility was the new thought; but that she was Jahveh's people was already familiar. What else could have kept her a distinct nation in Canaan? Her position was different from that of the kindred tribes, Edom, Moab and Ammon. In comparison with her, they dwelt alone. She was in the midst of a culture as superior to hers, or theirs, as was that of Britain to anything that Saxons or Jutes had ever known. She felt all the charm of the life of the Canaanites. What kept her distinct? A faith that the other tribes did not possess, or had already lost; a faith that can only be called monotheism.

Hence, the value of our stories. They show how deep this faith thrust its roots. With nothing monotheistic in themselves, springing from a purely ethnic and pagan soil, the narratives were transplanted somehow or other into the Hebrew mind, and there transformed. The grossness disappeared, the marvellous or neutral fell into the shade, and the old tales were made to sing as it were a new song, the grace and glory of Jahveh. Such a transformation could have been effected neither by prophet nor priest nor sage. It was the work of the genius of the Hebrew people. We know now how mistaken Renan was in supposing that the Semites had a genius for monotheism; we are willing to admit that the speculative views of the Hebrews themselves on the existence of Moloch and Chemosh and Ashtaroth were very liberal; and that high places and pillars and images were familiar enough in their worship. But monotheism was not discovered

by Isaiah or Amos, by Elijah or even, it would appear, by Moses. We must go back further than that—to the beginnings which, for us, are represented by Abraham. From that time on, it was embedded in the minds of the people ; it inspired their prayers ; it kindled their hopes ; it did more, it moulded their tales.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

*FACTORS OF FAITH IN IMMORTALITY.*¹

II.

It may seem paradoxical, but it is literally true, that historically immortality and martyrdom are correlative terms; and it is only those who have in their moral life an experience which is of one piece with that of the martyrs who can have any assurance of immortality, or even any idea of what it means, or of the grounds on which faith in it rests. The two great factors concerned in its production in the true religion are those we have now mentioned; an overpowering experience of the redeeming love of God, and a response to that love so absolute and unreserved that it does not count life itself dear to be true to it. Spiritually, the Christian faith in immortality is conditioned by these two things; where they both exist, faith rises to its highest power. Where faith is feeble, it is where either or both are inoperative. Is it not worth while to ask, in a generation in which faith is feeble, and doubters many, whether it is possible for some people to believe in immortality, or rather whether they have any right to believe in it. It is a stupendous idea, when we really take it in; and to grasp it as not merely an idea but a reality implies spiritual strength on a corresponding scale. How *can* a man believe in immortality who has invested his whole being in things which perish as he uses them? How can he believe in immortality if he does not know something which is better than life, if he is not identified with a cause and an interest to which life itself may well be surrendered? He cannot do it. He cannot evade the conditions under which the faith in immortality, as true religion knows it, was born, and by which it is sustained, and still believe. The man who has nothing in life he

¹ The Drew Lecture for 1910, by the Rev. Prof. James Denney, D.D.

would die for has nothing in life worth living for ; and the life which is not worth living will never believe in its own immortality. A great moral possession, like faith in immortality, must always be bought with a great moral price ; a man must sell all that he has to buy it. What Plato said long ago about the materialists who grasped rocks and oaks as the only realities—that they required to be improved before they could be argued with—may be said without censoriousness of many who doubt immortality to-day. As it appears in the history of the true religion, faith in immortality is part of a development in which an intimate experience of God's love is responded to by an unreserved surrender of the life to Him, and there is no reality in thinking or speaking of it apart from these conditions. What is implied about the soul, or about human nature, by the fact that experiences like this are possible for it, is an ulterior question ; but no doctrine of the soul will do the soul justice which does not argue back from these experiences ; and no metaphysical doctrine of the soul can ever be demonstrated *a priori* which will enable us to deduce these experiences from it. Every discussion of immortality, to be real, must move in a world which is ethically and experimentally conditioned throughout.

I can understand that some one should find a great blank in all this, as a study of the factors of faith in immortality, especially as they appear in the true religion. What, it will be said, of Jesus, who destroyed death and brought life and immortality to light ? What of the truth that it is Christ in us who is the hope of glory, or that as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive ? What, in particular, of the Resurrection of Jesus ?

To begin with, it is important to notice that Jesus in His lifetime is a signal illustration of such faith in immortality as characterises the true religion—a faith the factors

in which are an assurance of God's love, and an absolute martyr devotion to Him. There is nothing in history to parallel the calmness and certainty with which Jesus speaks of the life beyond death and inspires others to speak of it. "In my Father's house are many mansions." "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." In Jesus, as in those whom He is not ashamed to call brethren, such assurance is of one piece with His certainty of the Father's love, and with His devotion, even to death, to the Father's will. It is not an accident that the calmest and most untroubled faith in immortality known to human history are found in the spirit where both these factors of faith have had their perfect work—the spirit of Him who knew God not only as friend but as Father, and who laid down His life in the Father's service. It is not an accident, but a confirmation of what we have already seen to be the essential truth as to the origin of such faith. We must bear this in mind in what follows.

The Resurrection of Jesus is unquestionably a factor of supreme importance in the Christian faith in immortality. Not that faith in immortality actually owed its existence to the Resurrection: we have seen already that it existed before. But for those who saw the risen Saviour, and for those who received their testimony, the Resurrection gave faith a new vividness and certainty. The God in whom they trusted, and to whom they were resolved to be true even to death, made bare in it His holy arm, and acted decisively for the confirmation of their faith. In the Resurrection, death was abolished not in faith merely but in fact; life and immortality, which had often seemed doubtful and obscure, were brought finally and triumphantly into the light. To men who had seen the Lord, the life beyond death henceforth transcended in reality

both death itself and the life which led up to it, and the contagion of their assurance passed like fire from heart to heart. It would be an illusion, however, if we supposed that it passed independently of those factors of the faith in immortality which we have already seen to be operative even in Jesus. The Resurrection of Jesus was not a resurrection *simpliciter* : it was not the revelation, in the case of Jesus, of something which inevitably awaited all human beings in virtue of their inalienable human nature ; it was the resurrection of One who had known the Father's love and died to fulfil the Father's will ; and when it took possession of men's hearts, it took possession of them as a power in which divine love, and martyr faithfulness, and the victory over death were inseparable elements of one whole. These elements interpenetrated from the first, and if our thoughts and words about immortality are to be real they must interpenetrate to the last. The Risen Lord does not give us a faith in immortality independent of the factors which generated faith from the beginning ; but by the working of His spirit in us, uniting us to Himself, He enables us to realise those factors as they were present in His own life : He makes us immovably sure of God's love, and He enables us to become conformed to His own death. It is in this sense that Christ in us is the hope of glory. This is the way, and even for Christians it is the only way, of attaining to the resurrection from the dead. If we are begotten again to a living hope by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, it is because that resurrection vivifies in us the experiences from which faith springs, and sets its divine seal upon them. To say this is not to disparage in the least the historical fact of the Resurrection : by that fact the Christian religion stands or falls. It is only to remind ourselves that what is sometimes called the historical fact of the Resurrection is also, sometimes, too abstractly and therefore unreally

conceived ; and that if we wish to apprehend the truth we must take account of the Resurrection as an indivisible whole, in all its relations, spiritual as well as historical. We must think of it as what it was—the Father's glorifying of the Son. It is this which inspires all the high utterances of the New Testament about immortality. The speakers are conscious that the Resurrection is a supreme revelation : it shows what God can do for man, and what man is capable of receiving from God. But this revelation is made in the person of one whose life constrained those who knew him to feel that in His case the final victory of death would be not only an indignity but an incredibility. “It was not possible that *He* should be hol en of it.” And it is through a fellowship of life with Him—a fellowship, wrought by the spirit of the Risen Saviour, in that life which is revealed to us in the days of His flesh—that we grow into an assurance of immortality like that in which He lived and died.

In the New Testament utterances about immortality, to which reference has just been made, we have a singular proof, too easily overlooked, of the immense power with which the Resurrection of Jesus entered as a factor into the Christian faith that death has been finally overcome. The New Testament, it is not too much to say, is the only book in the world which speaks worthily and adequately of immortality ; and this unique and remarkable power is bound up with that conception of immortality which it owes to the Resurrection of Jesus. If immortality is real, it is stupendous ; the effect of believing in it is or ought to be an enlargement of the mind in comparison with which all that we owe to the discovery of America or to the Copernican astronomy would shrink into insignificance. If we are to believe in it, it must be because it has produced in those who preach it an uplift or expansion of nature corresponding to it in magnitude ; we must be conscious, as

we listen to them, that they breathe an ampler ether, a diviner air, and that their accent is not of earth, but of heaven. And this is what we do find in the New Testament, thanks, undoubtedly, to the Resurrection of Jesus. Think of passages like the fifteenth chapter of first Corinthians, or the fourth and fifth of second Corinthians, or the eighth of Romans, or the first of first Peter, or the seventh of Revelation. I will quote only one. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to His great mercy begot us again unto a living hope by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, unto an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you, who are guarded by the power of God through faith unto a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time." The amplitude and elevation of a passage like this, which, apart from other New Testament utterances, is, I venture to think, unparalleled, is at once an argument for the Resurrection of Jesus—for surely such a quickening and enlargement of human faculty as it exhibits must have had an adequate cause—and a proof that the specifically Christian faith in immortality has in that Resurrection one of its indispensable factors. The same holds of the other passages mentioned above. If we look at them simply as human documents, in which the mind is seen exalted to a power hitherto strange to it, they bear convincing testimony to the Resurrection of Jesus which inspired them; and the want of any real parallel to them elsewhere shows that nothing but the Resurrection of Jesus can beget such soaring and triumphant faith. It is not enough to say that He is a factor in the Christian faith in immortality; as we have seen already, all its factors meet in Him, and are divinely attested in His Resurrection. He has the right to say, I am Resurrection and Life.

In these references to the factors of faith, and especially of Christian faith, in immortality, one thing has never been mentioned, and another has fallen into the background. That which has not been mentioned is the desire to be reunited to those whom we have loved here, and from whom we have been parted by death. It is not easy to say how far this natural need and craving of the heart has contributed to make the supernatural life beyond death credible. There are men who have not been attracted by the idea of immortality till they saw their children growing up around them, and could not face the idea of a final dissolution of the bond of love which made them all one. Literature has many poignant illustrations of this and similar feelings. The heart clings even through death to those whom it has loved. "He lies by the ships a corpse"—says Achilles of his friend—"unwept, unburied, Patroclus; but him I will not forget, as long as I am myself among the living and my limbs bestir them; and if men do quite forget the dead in Hades, yet even there will I remember my dear comrade!"¹ "Tomb, bridal chamber, eternal prison in the caverned rock, whither I go to find mine own, those many who have perished, and whom Persephone hath received among the dead! Last of all shall I pass thither, and far most miserably of all, before the term of my life is spent. But I cherish good hope that my coming will be welcome to my father, and pleasant to thee, my mother, and welcome, brother, to thee; for when ye died with mine own hands I washed and dressed you, and poured drink offerings at your graves; and now, Polynices, 'tis for tending thy corpse that I win such recompense as this!"² Antigone was a martyr to the obligations of family duty, but although natural affection was to this extent spiritual-

¹ *Iliad*, xxii. 386 ff.

² Sophocles, *Antigone*, 891 ff. Jebb's translation.

ised in her case, its root in nature is not to be ignored when we think of its tenderness and strength. The most wonderful sanction for the instinct with which human love reaches out into the unseen and takes possession of it is given in St. John's Gospel, "In my Father's house are many mansions : if it were not so, I would have told you. For I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you I come again and will receive you to myself, that where I am, there ye may be also." "*If it were not so, I would have told you.*" The instinct with which the heart moves in this direction needs, according to Jesus, no justification : had the truth lain in another direction he would have given us explicit warning. Nevertheless, when we look at the faith in immortality in human history, we cannot say that the desire for reunion with friends has been a large factor in producing it. It is rather something which makes it welcome, and can be woven into it, than an effective cause contributing to bring it into being.¹

The factor of faith which has fallen into the background is the moral demand for retribution. In the Greek belief this had, as a rule, a conspicuous place. As we have already seen, Plato teaches explicitly that the bad would have too good a bargain if death ended all. In this precise form the idea of retribution does not bulk largely in the Christian faith in immortality. This faith is concerned rather with what God will do for those who are in Christ than with what will befall the wicked ; an independent interest in the fate of the wicked is not characteristic of the New Testament. But the factor of faith which appears in Plato as the necessity of retribution does appear in the New Testa-

¹ The contrary, however, would seem to be supported by such a sentence as the following from Tolstoi : "Je veux dire que ce ne sont pas les raisonnements qui vous mènent à admettre la nécessité de la vie future, mais lorsqu'on marche à deux dans la vie, et que tout à coup votre compagnon disparaît, là-bas, dans le vide, qu'on s'arrête devant cet abîme, qu'on y regarde—la conviction s'impose, et *j'ai regardé !*"

ment in wider relations. The Christian hope is a hope in the coming of God's Kingdom. When it comes, God Himself comes to do right by all who have been wronged, and to establish righteousness in undisputed sovereignty. The motives to faith which were once specially connected with retribution find their place in this larger context. Retribution has justice done to it when it is subordinated to faith in the righteousness of God, and in the kingdom of righteousness in which God's sovereignty is to be realised. In the Christian religion it holds, as a factor of faith in immortality, a real but a secondary place. The primary factors are those which have been already considered—the love of God to man, the capacity in man of an absolute devotion to God, and the power of Christ's Resurrection. If these are real and rational, so is the faith to which they give birth. It is as legitimate as they are, and neither more so nor less ; and until we are able, on the basis of experience, to estimate for ourselves the value of these factors of the faith, the faith itself is simply beyond our reach. We do not know what it means, and we do not know upon what it rests. It is equally out of our power to confute or to confirm it.

It is impossible, at this stage, to consider what inferences can be drawn as to the nature of man or of his soul from such a faith in immortality as has here been reviewed. Most people probably would say that it implied some kind of affinity between the human and the divine—that it agreed with and therefore confirmed the idea that man is made in the image of God. How this is to be scientifically construed is a further question, but there are two remarks, suggested by the whole subject, with which, as bearing on this question, I will conclude.

The first is, that the affinity of the human for the divine must not be interpreted in such a way as to signify that

the human soul partakes in the eternity of spirit, and that when death comes, and all the natural relations which determined its individuality are destroyed, it is absorbed again in the divine as a drop of water which has somehow been lifted from the ocean falls back again into its bosom and as a drop ceases to be. To represent the nature of the soul thus would be to deduce from man's faith in immortality, and from all the factors in experience which go to generate it, a conception of the soul at variance with the very thing it had to explain. It is idle to start except on an experimental basis, and what the experimental basis requires is a doctrine of the soul or of human nature consistent with such an ethically conditioned faith in personal immortality as has actually emerged in human history. A doctrine of man or of the soul to which personal immortality is insignificant and impossible stands in no relation to the premises in experience from which we have started and from which we cannot but start. To put it briefly: individual men believe, because they have experiences which inspire such faith, that under given conditions they will be saved in Christ; and it is a mere irrelevance to this genuine and legitimate faith in personal immortality when we are presented with a doctrine of the soul which shows how all men unconditionally will be lost in God.

The second remark is this. The affinity between God and man, which is presupposed in that living and religious faith in immortality which we have been considering, must not be exaggerated to mean that individual blessedness is eventually secure to all apart from such experiences as those upon which faith in immortality is historically seen to be dependent. Apart from these experiences, so far as we can tell, the conception of immortality would never have risen upon the mind; and if we have a doctrine of man which demonstrates personal immortality *a priori*,

such a doctrine also can only be described as irrelevant to all that makes the question of immortality one of vital interest to us. I have no desire to question what has been called the natural and essential immortality of man. What I wish to emphasise is that, though true, it is a truth without moral significance until it is brought into the moral world ; and that the moment it is brought into the moral world it is experimentally conditioned in the ways we have seen. It owes its meaning, its value, its certainty or dubiety, and the hopes or fears which attach to it, to the attitude which men assume to possible moral experiences. Human nature is, indeed, capable of these experiences ; it is capable of life in and for God, and therefore of life against which death is powerless ; but it is only as it accepts the life in God that the hope of immortality becomes real. Such a hope, in the Christian or in any high sense, is the greatest moral possession a man can have, but no doctrine of the soul can put it beforehand in his grasp. It has to be won by every man for himself, as he welcomes the love of God, fights the good fight, and experiences the power of the Resurrection of Jesus. Our being is beyond our power, and we can no more annihilate than we could have created it ; but what does vacant being mean ? It is the experience of the soul which is important, here or hereafter, not its existence merely ; and to give interest and reality to our thoughts of it, here or hereafter, it is on the basis of experience we must stand.

JAMES DENNEY.

*THE PAULINE "MYSTERY" IN THE
APOCALYPSE.*

SINCE the days of Jerome the readers of the Apocalypse have consented to his verdict on the book. *Apocalypsis Johanni tot habet sacramenta quot verba* still echoes in every school of interpretation. Yet recent investigation has been marked by a real progress. Preterist and Futurist schemes, in their older forms, are gradually disappearing. The prophetic character of the work has not been depreciated by the assumption that the writer was chiefly occupied with the conditions of the church and the world, as they existed in his own time. It has been shown that he made free use of the apocalyptic literature which had absorbed the interest of the Jewish people for several generations. The Apocalypse of Baruch, the Book of Enoch, and other documents of the same class—all more or less dependent on the Book of Daniel—have furnished ample illustration of the literary relations of the book. The result is that the Johannine Apocalypse is becoming more intelligible, and more available for edification.

The critics, however, are not yet agreed about its author and its date. Was it of Jewish or of Gentile origin? What was its object, and what is the key to its interpretation? A vast literature has accumulated around these questions. The present essay will engage itself chiefly with an inquiry respecting the school of Christian thought out of which the book proceeded.

I.

Ferd. C. Baur, and his school, were persuaded that the work was a production of St. John the apostle, and that it fully presented his Jewish convictions and ideas. They contended that the writer repudiated St. Paul and exalted

the twelve apostles. They also maintained that the book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem : while the Fourth Gospel was of later date, and, on account of its doctrine and style, to be ascribed to another author.

It was not difficult for Ritschl to prove, in reply, that the eschatology, which these writers had referred to associations exclusively Jewish, was not without support in St. Paul's writings ; and that even its chiliasm was akin to that exhibited by Barnabas, Papias, Justin and Irenaeus, who were Gentile Christians.¹ The "Day of the Lord," the great apostasy, the "Man of Sin," the beast rising from the abyss, were all included in the apocalyptic programme which had been accepted by the Gentile churches. De Wette had also found in the greetings to the churches, and in other portions of the book, indications of acquaintance with the Pauline writings.² By subsequent writers the use of Pauline phraseology has been more fully demonstrated.³ Nevertheless, the majority of authorities regard the Apocalypse as a Jewish-Christian work, and its first readers as a community impressed with the same characteristics. Dr. H. Porter, in the article cited in the note, is of opinion that "the question so vital to an understanding of the beginning of Christianity, whether the Christology and Soteriology of 'Revelation' are Pauline, or anti-Pauline, or independent of Paulinism, remains quite unanswered." In general, he agrees with Weizsäcker, who says : "This Jewish-Christianity is universal in tone, and free from the law, not in the Pauline way, but in its own."⁴

¹ *Die Entstehung der alt-katholischen Kirche*, 1857, p. 134.

² *Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handbuch*, 1854, p. 5.

³ Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, 1886, p. 432. The eschatological relations of St. Paul are fairly exhibited in Dr. W. Lock's article on 2 Thess. in *Hastings' Bible Dict.* iv. 747 : also in Dr. Porter's *Revelation*, *ibid.* p. 239.

⁴ Weizsäcker : *Das apostolische Zeitalter der christlichen Kirche*, 1886, p. 525.

He ventures, however, to locate the Fourth Gospel—the universalism of which he recognizes—in the church of Asia Minor, though that church was beset, as he alleges, with such a large share of Jewish propensities. Weizsäcker perceives no improbability in the assumption that the church from which Polycarp, Papias and Irenaeus received Christian teaching was “principally Jewish-Christian.” Justin, Melito. and Apollinaris (of Hierapolis) represent the traditions prevalent in the same interesting area; yet they were controversial in their anti-Judaism. Weizsäcker also conjectures—without substantial corroboration—that the Church founded by St. Paul at Ephesus had collapsed after his departure, and that a new church arose there, later in the century under the auspices of St. John.¹ The later Pauline epistles—including the *Pastoral*—give evidences of an extensive intrusion of false (Jewish) teachers on this ground, but they scarcely warrant the conclusion that a wholesale subversion had taken place. It was to the church at Ephesus that Ignatius wrote: “Ye are they who were initiated by Paul, that truly holy and blessed witness.”² Elsewhere, this friend of Polycarp says: “It is absurd to profess Christ and to Judaize.”³ This does not suggest that any authorized re-establishment of Judaistic influences had been effected. Neither does the writer of the Apocalypse imply that the Ephesian church had improved through its “departure from St. Paul”: rather the contrary.⁴ May we not also suppose that the public reading of St. Paul’s epistles, which had become customary in these churches,

¹ Weizsäcker, *ibid.* p. 500.

² *Ad Ephes.* xii.: The longer recension extends the reference: “The Christians of Ephesus always had intercourse with the apostles, Paul, John, and Timothy.” As Ignatius seems to know nothing about St. John in Asia, Dr. Ramsay (*Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 241) suggests that he had not seen St. John’s letters.

³ *Ad Magnes.* c. viii.

⁴ *Rev.* ii. 4.

would prevent any such transformation as that which is alleged?

There is also an important historical difficulty to be considered. The Asiatic churches acknowledged the authority of St. Paul and Timothy until A.D. 64, or perhaps later. If they came under the influence of St. John, subsequently, it must have been within the next ten years. Up to that time these churches would be predominantly Gentile in their sympathies. But St. John had been "a pillar" in the church at Jerusalem. With Peter he had been entrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision. The New Testament gives no sign that he ever relinquished this office, or that he became an apostle to the Gentiles. By the time of Irenaeus (iii. 3, 4) a tradition had arisen to the effect that "the church in Ephesus, founded by St. Paul, had John among them permanently until the time of Trajan." Bousset (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, p. 142) criticizes this tradition, and urges that Irenaeus confused John the Elder with John the Apostle. Dr. Swete (*Apocalypse of St. John*, p. clxxvi.) shows from the statements of Papias "a confusion between the Apostle and the Elder which may have existed even in the mind of Irenaeus." On this account Dr. Swete, while he adheres to the Johannean authorship of the Apocalypse, yet allows that it may be regarded as an open question. In like manner, the supposition that the churches in Asia had yielded their ancient Paulinism in favour of Judaic opinions and practice, lacks evidence.¹

¹ Tertullian everywhere asserts that the apostle John was the author of the Apocalypse: but his testimony rests upon current tradition. He reports the escape of St. John from a bath of boiling oil before his departure to Patmos (*De Praescript. Haeret.* xxvi.). He also depended upon the Apocalypse for his view of the succession of bishops from St. John (Tertull. c. *Marcion*, iv. 5).

II.

It has been observed by critics, of almost every school, that the Apocalypse, notwithstanding many obvious differences of conception and style, betrays a literary kinship with the Johannine Gospel and Epistles. As it is without express quotation that the writer interweaves into his composition the language of the Old Testament, so, when he uses the phraseology of Paul or John, he is not constrained by the demands of literal exactness.

We may next inquire how far the writer of the Apocalypse shows himself to be acquainted with the doctrine and language of St. Paul. Holtzmann (*Einleitung*, p. 422) adduces several instances of resemblance. They are such as the forms of greeting (Rev. i. 4, xxii. 21; Phil. i. 2); "his God and Father" (Rev. i. 6; Rom. xv. 6); "the dead in Christ" (Rev. xiv. 13; 1 Thess. iv. 16); "to him that loved us" (Rev. i. 5; Gal. ii. 20); "every bondman and freeman" (Rev. vi. 15; Gal. iii. 28); "the new Jerusalem" (Rev. iii. 12; Gal. vi. 19); and "the firstborn of the dead" (Rev. i. 5; Col. i. 18).¹

Another of these cognate expressions appears in Revelation iii. 7, where the writer speaks of him that "hath the key of David, him that openeth and none shall shut, and that shutteth and no man openeth." It has not been noticed that this figurative phrase usually refers to the evangelical opportunity afforded by the eagerness of the Gentiles to receive the word of Christ. In Acts xiv. 27 we are informed that, when Barnabas and Paul returned from their first mission, they reported how God "had opened a door of faith unto the Gentiles." In 1 Corinthians xvi. 9 St. Paul

¹ Bousset prefers to relate the latter passage to a common use; but on Rev. iii. 14—"the beginning of the creation of God"—he remarks that in the letter to Laodicea there is "a direct contact with the Colossian epistle."

says that in Ephesus "a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries." In Acts xix. 9 it is shown that these "adversaries" were Jews, on account of whose opposition he left the synagogue, and carried on his work "daily in the school of one Tyrannus." Similarly, in Philippians i. 28 he exhorts the believers to be "in nothing affrighted by the adversaries," who doubtless wished to close the door that had been opened to the Gentiles. These Philippian believers had "the same conflict" which he constantly endured (ver. 30). In Colossians iv. 3 he invites the church to "pray for us that God may open unto us a door for the word, to speak the mystery of Christ." This "mystery," Bishop Lightfoot says (*Coloss.* p. 231), was "the doctrine of the free admission of the Gentiles"; and that "Paul might have been still at large if he had been content to preach a Judaic gospel." At Troas also "a door was opened" for the word. There (Acts xx. 4) he was surrounded by companions with Greek names, who had entered in by the "door" which so many of his own people were conspiring to close. We can, therefore, scarcely avoid the conclusion that, in the address to the Church of Philadelphia (Rev. iii. 8), the reference to the "door opened" implies the admission of the Gentiles to the privileges of the gospel. They had beside them a "synagogue of Satan, of them which say they are Jews and they are not." Most critics now allow that these professed Jews were those whom the writer regarded as having no place in the true Israel. They were not proselytes (though this is not certain) nor Pauline Christians, but native Jews, who objected to eat with the uncircumcised.

Besides these instances of similarity in thought and language between St. Paul and the writer of the Apocalypse—and others which deserve notice—there is an important

series of phrases relating to the redemption by Christ. One of St. Paul's strong expressions on this subject is found in 1 Corinthians vi. 20, vii. 23 : "Ye were bought with a price"—ἡγοράσθητε τιμῆς. Ἀγοράζειν is found here and in the Apocalypse only, except in 2 Peter ii. 1 : "denying even the Master that bought them." In Galatians iii. 13, iv. 5 ἐξαγοράζειν is used, but in both cases the salvation of the Gentiles is implied in the context. But in Revelation v. 9 we find in the song of the elders before the Lamb : "thou wast slain, and didst purchase (ἡγόρασας) unto God with thy blood men of every tribe." ¹ Again, Revelation xiv. 3, 4 speaks of those "that had been purchased out of the earth," and "who were purchased from among men."

The "purchase of a people" could scarcely refer to the children of Abraham, who were already "the people of God." Another word for redemption does appear to include them (λυτροῦν, λύτρον). Meyer says on Luke xxiv. 21, "We hoped that it was he which should redeem Israel," that the saying refers to "the politico-theocratic idea of the national Messiah" : cf. Luke ii. 38. But in Hebrews ix. 11-13 a very different idea meets us : "Christ . . . having obtained eternal redemption"—αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν. The same adjective is used in Revelation xiv. 6 for the "eternal gospel," which was to be proclaimed "unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people" ; and is also used in the doxology in Romans xvi. 26, which speaks of "the revelation of the mystery which hath been kept in silence through times eternal." ² Beza may be our interpreter in this case : "Paul speaks of the vocation of the Gentiles, as he himself explains, Ephesians iii."

¹ Cf. ἐν τῷ αἵματι, Heb. x. 19 ; Rom. iii. 25 ; Eph. iii. 9, etc. : τῷ θεῷ, 1 Pet. iii. 18.

² Cf. Ignatius, *Ad Magnes.* vi., viii.

(so Bengel). St. Paul also speaks of "the grace which was given in Christ Jesus before times eternal, but hath now been manifested" (2 Tim. iii. 9). In Titus i. 2-3 we read of "the hope of eternal life, which God, who cannot lie, promised before times eternal, but in his own seasons manifested." What the "seasons" (*καιροί*) were, is explained in 1 Timothy ii. 6: "Jesus, who gave himself a ransom (*ὁ δὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον*) for all, the testimony to be borne in its own times (*καιροῖς*), whereunto I was appointed . . . a teacher among the Gentiles." There is also an allusion to the "mystery" involved in the universal gospel in 1 Timothy iii. 15: "Great is the mystery of godliness, He who was manifested in the flesh . . . preached among the Gentiles, believed on in the world."

The word "mystery" occurs twenty-one times in the Pauline epistles, and, except in three or four cases, there is always a reference to the evangelization of the Gentiles. The Divine purpose in regard to this object had been kept secret from the older church, 1 Peter i. 10. In the Synoptics "mystery" is used only in the parable of the "Sower," whose labours were continued in the gospel ministry. In Revelation i. 20, "the mystery of the seven stars" may also contain an allusion to the evangelical call and work of the churches. In Revelation x. 7 "the mystery of God" which is "finished" is explained by "the good tidings which he declared to his servants the prophets." This primary, evangelical content of the word "mystery" was effaced at an early date by an ecclesiastical interpretation which applied it to the sacraments. Irenaeus iv. 18 connects Revelation iv. 8—"the prayers of saints"—with "the offering of the Gentiles," Malachi i. 11, "in which the Jews could take no part"; and this prophetic

passage is still used to defend the doctrine of "sacrifice" in the eucharist.

We may add that the conception of redemption which appears in Revelation xiv. 3, etc., as bringing to God a people "purchased out of the earth," is illustrated by Titus ii. 14: "who gave himself that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people for his own possession." It is also in accordance with Romans ix. 24: "Whom He also called, not from the Jews only, but also from the Gentiles. As he saith in Hosea, I will call that my people which was not my people." ¹

This aspect of redemption, in its special relation to the great world beyond the narrow limits of the Hebrew nation, has been too much overlooked. It is in the epistle to the Ephesians where this topic is most fully discussed. "Remember," says St. Paul, "that aforetime ye, the Gentiles in the flesh, who are called uncircumcision by that which is called circumcision . . . were alienated from the commonwealth of Israel . . . but now in Christ Jesus ye that were far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ" (Eph. ii. 11-22). "For he is our peace," i.e. between Jew and Gentile: "He brake down the middle wall of partition, having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances," which had divided the race into two sections. This was done "that he might reconcile them both in one body unto God through the cross." A similar association of the case of the Gentiles with a reference to the cross is found in 1 Cor. i. 23; ii. 2-9; Gal. vi. 11-14.

This doctrine, however, of the inclusion of believing

¹ Λαὸς περιούσιος only in Tit. ii. 14: but Clement, Ep. i. 58 has the adjective. It also occurs in LXX. Exod. xix. 15, where follows "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests," cf. Rev. i. 6. The idea re-appears in *περιποίησις*, Eph. i. 9, 2 Thess. ii. 14, and 1 Pet. ii. 9.

Gentiles in the true Israel was new ; it had come by revelation, 1 Corinthians ii. 7-10 ; Galatians i, 12 ; Ephesians iii. 3. This "mystery of Christ" "was not made known unto the sons of men" of "other generations" as it is now "revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit." The testimony is "that the Gentiles are . . . fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ." Paul had been made the minister of this wider gospel—"to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ" (Eph. iii. 8, cf. i. 9-10).

III.

So many associations in thought and language between the author of the Apocalypse and St. Paul suggest there may be a yet deeper connection. The Apostle of the Gentiles was possessed by a sense of the grandeur of the "mystery which from all ages hath been his in God who created all things." The Apocalypse has its great secret also. As this great topic is approached a doxology is introduced which is worthy of St. Paul himself : "Worthy art thou, our Lord and our God, to receive the glory and the honour and the power : for thou didst create all things" (Rev. iv. 11).

The writer then proceeds (Rev. v.) to speak of a book which no one was worthy to open or to read. But "the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath overcome to open the book and the seven seals thereof." The "Lion" then, by a sudden transformation, becomes "the Lamb." The Messiah of the Prophets had "emptied himself of all but love." He took the book, and showed its contents to his servants. The great "mystery" is declared : the nations of the earth are redeemed. To them belongs the great future about to be described. They are exalted to be "a kingdom and priests" for ever. How fitting is the

“new song” to him that had been slain! Immediately “the four living creatures and the four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb.” They say: “Worthy art thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof; for thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with thy blood men of every tribe and tongue and people and nation.” The Divine purpose, in relation to the salvation of the Gentiles, which had been disclosed to St. Paul is the theme of the Apocalypse.

We are, therefore, to look into the Apocalypse, not for the history of the Roman empire, nor for that of the world at large, but for the divinely appointed future of the Church. This Church is not to consist of Jews only, but of a “great multitude” gathered out of all nations. The old theory, that this book presented a programme of the coming ages of the world, has been more or less misleading. It has produced conjectures about “times,” and “half-a-time,” and the number of the beast. The church needed encouragement in times of trial and fear, and to be assured that the day of final redemption was nigh, when the new Jerusalem should descend out of heaven. Hence, at the beginning of the book (Rev. ii. 7) the writer shows that his treatise is addressed “to the churches”; and, at the close (Rev. xxii. 16) he restates his great design: “I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things for the churches.”¹ The book is full of that which concerned (ἐπί) the churches. Many of the separate figures, allusions and symbols owe their obscurity to the apocalyptic material which came to the writer’s hand. Critical skill may yet engage itself with the dependence upon older apocalypses which is betrayed; the identity of the two witnesses and of the beast that was smitten and healed again, may need

¹ Another reading, A.V. “in the churches” (Cod. Al. *ἐν*; Vulg. *in*) is now rejected.

further exploration. But if it is allowed that these are not the principal things in the book, but subordinate to its general purpose, something will have been gained.

IV.

The order, in which the great development is to advance, is given in Revelation vi.-viii. The course of events is there presented in historical sequence, and nothing so definite is found afterwards. All that follows—the seven angels, the woes, the apparition of the woman in heaven, the dragon, the beast rising out of the sea, the angels with the seven last plagues, with the seven bowls, and the fall of Babylon, and the overthrow of Satan—are extensions of the several items previously mentioned.¹

When the elders proclaim the accomplishment of the redemption of the true Israel, it might be expected that the new heaven and the new earth would immediately appear, and the mystery of God finished. But the great series of apocalyptic visions intervenes. His readers must not conclude "that the day of the Lord is now present" (2 Thess. ii. 2). The "falling away" must first come, and "the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition."

V.

It may be said that this theory concerning the sealed book is at variance with the traditional and yet current interpretations. The patristic view, from Origen, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius downwards, was that the mysterious book contained the key to the Old Testament. Hilary, Jerome and Ambrose agree with Victorinus, who said: *Vetus testamentum significat*. That opinion does not entirely exclude the one now proposed; for the conversion of the Gentiles is a commonplace in the later writings of the Old

¹ "The opening of the seventh seal evolves a series of symbolic actions which only ends with the book itself" (Alford).

Testament. Wetstein advanced the judgment that it referred to the rejection of the Jews, but his view has received little notice. The more recent opinion is represented by Lange and Düsterdieck, the latter of whom says : "So is indicated the rich content of the book which contains fully the divine counsel in regard to the future." Bousset holds that "this is not the book of judgment, but the book in which the fate of the world is indicated." Dr. Swete thinks it is "the book of destiny."¹

If so much has been changed in the exposition of the Apocalypse, few will demand that absolute submission should be yielded to traditional interpretations, especially when they are not unanimous. Though there seems little direct evidence in favour of the view now advanced, there is an abundance of indirect and collateral evidence. St. Paul's frequent and emphatic allusions to the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Church as "the mystery" (τὸ μυστήριον, Eph. iii. 4) must be taken into account. This great question was the cause of continuous agitation in the great apostle's time, and still maintained its significance in the following decades. St. Paul had asserted that the revelation of the "mystery" was given "that now unto the principalities and the powers in the heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God" (Eph. iii. 10). The Apocalyptic writer in his vision saw "the heavenly places" opened, and became a witness of the astonished gladness which was awakened among the angels and saints when they beheld the grace of the Lamb towards a sinful world. These "things the angels desire to look into," says St. Peter (1 Ep. i. 2-20). The older prophets had sought to understand the promised "salvation." His readers were Gentile believers (vv. 14,

¹ Jerome, *adv. Iovin. i.* 26, *vidit enim in Pathmos . . . apocalypsin infinita futurorum mysteria, continentem.*

23, ii. 10), who "in time past were no people." They had been "redeemed" from Gentile vanities "not with corruptible things, with silver or gold," but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ." Revelation iii. 7 speaks of Him who held "the key of David"—"the root of David": and again, xxii. 16, "the root and offspring of David." St. Paul explains for us this allusion in Romans xv. 12: "Isaiah saith, There shall be the root of Jesse, and he that ariseth to rule over the Gentiles; on him shall the Gentiles hope." The "key of David" which opened the door of faith to the Gentiles, was that which opened the sealed book of the Apocalypse.

Thoughtful Gentiles, who entered into the great spiritual privileges of the gospel, must have been powerfully impressed by the anomalous and paradoxical elements of their position. Israel, which originally had "the oracles of God," and was heir to all the promises, seemed to have been passed by, and the heathen had been adopted into sonship and inheritance. The "best robe" had been thrown over the prodigal son; while the elder brother, who had served his father always—now an unwilling spectator of the family gladness—stood in the garb of a servitor. St. Paul discusses the matter in Romans ix.-xi., and concludes that "a hardening in part hath befallen Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in." The post-apostolic writers all trace the misfortunes of Israel to disobedience and unbelief, and begin to doubt if any of them could be saved.

One of these writers refers in a very interesting way to this subject. The *Epistle to Diognetus* (c. viii.), the writer of which calls himself "a disciple of apostles," and "a teacher of the Gentiles," says: "God . . . formed in his mind a great and unspeakable conception (ἄφραστος ἐννοια): while he preserved his wise counsel in a mystery

he appeared to disregard us, but when he revealed through his beloved Son the things prepared from the beginning, he conferred every blessing at once (*πάνθ' ἅμα*) upon us . . . Who could have expected these things ? ” Again, (c. xi.) he says : “ The disciples being faithful knew the mysteries of the Father. It was for this reason that he sent the Logos that he might be manifest to the world . . . who indeed was despised by his own people, but was preached by apostles, and was believed in by the Gentiles.” ¹

VI.

If the theory now proposed should be established, there will be little room for questioning the literary unity of the Apocalypse. The unity of the subject will facilitate the connexion of its several parts. The continuity between the first three chapters, with their special addresses to the seven churches, and the remainder of the book will be fairly evident. The measurement of the temple (xi. 3) need not be attributed to an earlier writer : it will explain itself as a reference to the spiritual building—the Church (Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 2, 3 ; Eph. ii. 22 ; 1 Cor. iii. 9).² There is no difficulty in supposing that the writer, in his free use of older sources, appropriated whatever he found to be in accordance with his object. His selection of the great figures of the beast rising from the abyss, the great dragon, and the riders upon horses was undoubtedly owing to his desire to explain what these prominent objects in prophetic and apocalyptic literature signified for the church.

¹ 1 Tim. iii. 15 : cf. Rom. ii. 9, xi. 33 ; Eph. i. 3 ; 2 Tim. i. 11–15 ; iv. 16.

² Dr. Swete defends the spiritual interpretation of the “ temple,” xi. 1. Bousset (also Mr. A. Scott), on the other hand, thinks it refers to the temple at Jerusalem, and that therefore this fragment was produced before A.D. 70 : “ John quoted an earlier Apocalypse.” Cf. Heb. xii. 22 : “ Ye are come unto . . . the heavenly Jerusalem ” ; and Ep. Barnabas xvi. : “ the spiritual temple built for the Lord.”

Dr. Sanday, in a reference to Dr. Swete's important work on the Apocalypse, says that "the author of the Apocalypse is a Jew, and in all probability a Jew of Palestine. . . . The Apocalypse thus supplies welcome evidence of a line of teaching that is parallel to St. Paul's and that really goes beyond his . . . fundamentally the Christology is that which has been held by the Church universal."¹ This agrees so far with the opinion of Bousset, who yet thinks that the evidence of direct Johannine authorship fails. He prefers to refer the book to the Presbyter John, who might have been a primitive follower of Jesus, and even "the disciple whom Jesus loved"; but had, with Philip and others, migrated to Ephesus. This theory would explain the remarkable acquaintance with the views and experiences of the first disciples revealed in the Fourth Gospel. But such a view at once encounters many difficulties. It would be strange that "the disciple whom Jesus loved" should not be more directly referred to in the New Testament, as apart from the son of Zebedee. It was to him that the guardianship of the mother of Jesus was committed (John xix. 27). Would he not be with Mary in the first assembly at Jerusalem after the ascension (Acts i. 14)? There seems to be no reference in the Gospels, or in the Acts of the Apostles, or in the Epistles to any personality so eminent, yet individually separate from St. John.

The evidence, therefore, "of a line of teaching that is parallel to St. Paul's, and that really goes beyond his," can scarcely in this way be proved to be independent of, or proceeding from an earlier source than himself. Dr. Sanday holds that the Apocalypse dates from the time of Domitian, when its author must have been acquainted with St. Paul's writing. We venture to think that such a

development of Paulinism was chiefly found in the churches of Asia Minor twenty or thirty years after the apostle's activity there had ended. To the same circle, perhaps, belonged those views of Christianity which have come to us in the Greek Matthew, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the first Epistle of Peter, and perhaps in the Pastoral Epistles—as well as in the Johannine writings. In this case, it would be difficult to assume that Judaic sympathies or tendencies prevailed in those churches. Their glory was in the gospel which admitted the Gentiles into the kingdom of heaven, without dependence upon Jewish observances.

It would greatly assist the consideration of the whole subject if we had a clearer statement of what is meant by a "Jewish-Christian." Was St. Paul one? Certainly: if to be at once a Jew and a Christian is to be a Jewish-Christian. But St. James, who was so prominent in the Church at Jerusalem, was in this sense a Jewish-Christian also. He never forsook the observance of the Mosaic customs—never held good-fellowship with Gentile-Christians. St. John, in the first part of his history at least, was a Jewish-Christian of the same type. We are dependent upon the Johannine writings, and on many doubtful traditions, for the assurance that he afterwards adopted St. Paul's free fellowship with the Gentiles. But the author or authors of the Apocalypse and of the Fourth Gospel, if Jewish-Christian at all, were such after the manner of St. Paul rather than after that of St. James.

Unfortunately, the original Jewish-Christians have left no literature undoubtedly theirs by which we may judge them, and others who differed from them. Dean Robinson has said that "the Church—so far as its literature has survived to us—was a Church of Gentile-Christians."¹ That

¹ *Encyclop. Biblica*: "Eucharist," ii. 422.

is to say, "the Catholic Church" was a development of Pauline and Gentile Christianity, and not a direct amalgamation of Jewish and Gentile Christians, as Baur and his followers asserted. It is very easy to exaggerate the number of Jewish believers who associated with the Pauline churches. St. Paul complains, in his later epistles especially, that he had so little support from Christians of his own race (Col. iii. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17). He speaks everywhere of the opposition which he received from professors of the faith of Jesus among his own people, rather than of persecution from those who openly repudiated that faith. Justin Martyr (*Apolog.* i. 33) shows that there were far more added to the Church from the Gentile class than from the Jews and the Samaritans. The Jewish-Christians, strictly speaking, derived their descent from the apostolic Church in Jerusalem, and continued their patristic observances to the end. James, the traditional bishop of Jerusalem, was a strict observer of the law. After his death, the bishops of the fugitive Church were all of the circumcision.¹ Though they were denounced in the synagogues, they held no fellowship with the Gentile churches, and so far as is known, no uncircumcised Gentile could sit down at the Lord's Supper with this primitive community.

The "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs" has been a stronghold for those who supposed that there was a Jewish-Christian party—the Nazarenes—which held Pauline doctrine but adhered to Judaistic practices. Ritschl held that it was the work of a Nazarene Christian; and his opinion was adopted by Bishop Lightfoot. Except for some doubtful observations made by Origen and Jerome, it was the only evidence that such views were held by this sect. Dr. Conybeare, however, has discovered that the directly

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 5.

Christian portions of the "Testaments" are not included in the Armenian versions. Dr. Charles has also shown that these paragraphs are dependent on the New Testament. It seems that several interpolators in the second century edited the Jewish treatise, which had been produced c. B.C. 135. The following extracts will show that the additions have arisen in a circle familiar with the later Paulinism.

In "Judah" it is said: "After these things shall a star arise to you from Jacob . . . the Branch of God most high . . . a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles." In "Joseph": "honour Judah and Levi; for from them shall arise unto you the Lamb of God, saving all the Gentiles and Israel." And in "Benjamin": "One shall rise up from my seed in the latter times . . . enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, bursting in upon Israel for salvation with the light of knowledge, and tearing it away like a wolf, and giving it to the synagogue of the Gentiles."

This evidently belongs to the circle of ideas which is found in St. Paul and in the Apocalypse. Tertullian (*c. Marc.* iv. 1) refers to "the sure mercies of David," which came "by the stem of Jesse," as belonging to the Gentiles, and (*ibid.* iv. 16) says: "So long therefore as the mystery was confined to Israel (*ideoque quamdiu intra Israelem erat sacramentum*) he suitably recommended pity specially towards brethren, but when he gave to Christ the Gentiles as his inheritance, then began to be fulfilled the prophecy of Hosea: 'Who were not my people are my people.'"¹

The conclusion is (i.) That the secret of the sealed book, Revelation v., is substantially that which was contained in the "mystery" of St. Paul, Ephesians iii.

¹ We may add an extract from Clem. 2 Ep. 2: "He called us when we were not, and willed that out of nothing we should have a real existence."

(ii.) That the Churches, to which the Apocalypse was addressed, consisted of Pauline Christians.

(iii.) That the writer of the Apocalypse was in full sympathy with the universalism which Paul held to be the supreme interest of his message.

W. F. SLATER.

*'I' AND 'WE' IN THE THESSALONIAN
EPISTLES.*

THE question has often been discussed whether the plural pronoun of the first person, as it is found in St. Paul's Epistles, is to be interpreted as a real plural. There are those who so understand it, while others regard it as practically equivalent to 'I,' comparing it with an editorial or author's 'We.'

The two Epistles to the Thessalonians, whose Pauline authorship will here be taken for granted, form an excellent starting point for the consideration of this question, for in these, more than in any other Epistle, does St. Paul employ the plural pronoun 'we.' Five times only does he say 'I' (1 Thess. ii. 18, iii. 5, v. 27, 2 Thess. ii. 5, iii. 17).

Now it is to be observed that both these Epistles begin with a salutation from Paul, and Silvanus, and Timothy to "the Church of the Thessalonians," and the most natural thing then would be to understand the oft recurring 'we' throughout the Epistles as intended to include the three of them, or, if one of the three be excluded by the context, then the other two. Some reason would have to be sought to account for the occasional lapse into the singular such as we find in the five verses given above.

There are, however, other Epistles which open with a salutation from others besides the Apostle himself, and in only two of these does he employ the plural 'we.' Before then we hastily conclude that the 'we' of the Thessalonian Epistles is a proper plural, it will be well to inquire whether any reason can be found why St. Paul should associate others with himself by using the plural 'we' in some of his Epistles and yet not do so in others, even though the opening words contain a salutation from more than the Apostle himself.

In 1 Corinthians St. Paul speaks throughout in his own name, and employs the singular 'I.' Yet in this Epistle the salutation comes from "Paul, called to be an Apostle through the will of God, and Sosthenes the brother." It is easy, however, to understand why, though the name of Sosthenes occurs in the salutation, he has no real part in the Epistle. Sosthenes was, it would seem, a member of the Corinthian Church (Acts xviii. 17), possibly a leading member, who happened to be with St. Paul at Ephesus when he was writing the Epistle. There was therefore an appropriateness in including him in the salutation; but Sosthenes, though a prominent convert in Corinth, had not been instrumental in founding the Church there. To the Corinthian Christians he would be but one of themselves. He could not speak authoritatively, as Silvanus or Timothy might have done. We know from the narrative of the Acts that it was with the aid of Silvanus and Timothy that St. Paul evangelised, and founded the Churches of Macedonia and Achaia. It is perfectly intelligible, then, that in writing to the Thessalonians he should associate them with himself in what had to be said to them. Accordingly, nearly everywhere in the Thessalonian Epistles it is, as we have seen, 'we' and not 'I.'

In 2 Corinthians there is frequent use of the plural 'we,' but as the salutation comes from "Paul, an Apostle of Christ Jesus through the will of God, and Timothy the brother," and Timothy had been a fellow-worker with St. Paul in the founding of the Macedonian and Achaian Churches, the associating of Timothy with himself in parts of the Epistle is capable of a natural explanation. 'We' can be interpreted naturally as a real plural.

In the other two Epistles of the third missionary journey—namely, those to the Churches of Galatia¹ and to the

¹ I have given my reasons elsewhere (*The Epistle to the Galatians, its*

Romans—St. Paul employs the singular ‘I’ throughout. This is easily explained. For the opening salutation in the Epistle to the Romans is from the Apostle only; and though in the Epistle to the Galatians he couples with himself in the opening words “all the brethren who are with me,” it was hardly to be expected that this general body of Christians gathered round him would be associated with him in his exhortations and rebukes addressed to the unfaithful Galatians.

Coming now to the group of Epistles belonging to the first Roman imprisonment, we find that in the Epistle to the Ephesians it is the singular ‘I’ which is employed. This needs no explanation, seeing that that begins with a salutation from St. Paul alone. The case is different in regard to the Epistles to the Colossians, the Philippians, and Philemon. In all these Timothy is named in the salutation along with Paul, and yet in Philippians and Philemon it is everywhere ‘I,’ while in Colossians we find at first ‘we’ and then ‘I.’ Now it must be remembered that these Epistles belong to a period of imprisonment. St. Paul was a prisoner, Timothy was not. The strength of any appeal made in these letters depends in large measure upon the fact that he who made it was a prisoner. We can understand, then, that the Apostle might very well speak more in his own name in these Epistles, even though Timothy was with him, than would otherwise be the case. In Colossians he begins with a ‘we’—“We thank God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,” etc.—and he continues to use the plural when in verse 9 he writes: “For this cause we also, since the day we heard it (i.e. your love in the Spirit) do not cease to pray and make request for you, etc.” He lapses

Destination and Date) for adhering to Lightfoot’s dating of *Galatians*. I have remained undisturbed in my view by subsequent criticism.

into the singular quite naturally at i. 23, when he speaks of his own special ministry and goes on to rejoice in his sufferings. For the most part the 'I' persists through the Epistle, though there is a return to 'we' in i. 28.

In the Epistle to the Philippians it is everywhere 'I.' We might have expected that having associated Timothy with himself in the opening salutation, the Apostle would have said in i. 3: 'We thank God'—as indeed he does when writing to the Colossians—instead of 'I thank God.' But the reason for his personal thanksgiving is not far to seek. For we gather from the Epistle that the Philippians had sent a contribution to their prisoner Apostle in Rome. This seems clear from iv. 10: "But I rejoiced in the Lord greatly, that now at length ye have revived your thought for me; wherein ye did indeed take thought, but ye lacked opportunity. Not that I speak in respect of want: for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therein to be content." And the Apostle refers (iv. 15) to a previous time when these same Philippians had given substantial proof of their love for him: "Ye yourselves also know, ye Philippians, that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church had fellowship (*ἐκοινωνήσεν*) with me in the matter of giving and receiving, but ye only; for even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my need."

Now when we refer to the subject of the Apostle's thanksgiving at the beginning of the Epistle, we find that it is a matter of 'fellowship' (*κοινωνία*) for which he expresses his gratitude: "I thank my God . . . for your fellowship in furtherance of the gospel (*ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*) from the first day until now. And this word *κοινωνία* is employed by St. Paul in other Epistles to denote a contribution. The subject of both 2 Corinthians ix. 13, and Romans xv. 26, where the word occurs, is the collection made

by the Apostle among the Gentile churches on behalf of the poor Christians in Jerusalem. It seems natural, then, in view of this use of *κοινωνία* and in view of the passages already quoted from Philippians iv., in which the verb *ἐκοινώνησεν* is employed, that in Philippians i. 3 *κοινωνία* includes, if it be not confined to, a contribution sent by the Philippians for the benefit of the Apostle. This being so, we can understand why the thanksgiving is a personal one, so that St. Paul says 'I thank' rather than 'We thank.'

The absence of the plural 'we' in the Epistle to Philemon needs no explanation, for it contains an essentially personal appeal, and the plural would have been out of place.

In the Pastoral Epistles, whose genuineness I accept, St. Paul writes from himself alone and the singular 'I' is consistently used, as was to be expected. It makes no difference to our present argument whether these Epistles are genuine or not.

Enough has now been said to shew that there is a very good case for interpreting 'we,' when it occurs in the Pauline Epistles, as a proper plural. St. Paul only uses 'we' when he is associating with himself those who have been connected with him in the work of founding the churches which he is addressing. The most natural thing, then, is to suppose that when he writes 'we' he means 'we,' and when he lapses into the singular he has a reason for so doing. There can be nothing surprising that he should pass from 'we' to 'I,' seeing that he is himself the Apostle, able to speak authoritatively. While he associates his fellow-workers with him in passages where it is appropriate to do so, it comes quite natural to him, when occasion requires, to speak in his own name and with the authority which is his own and not theirs.

Let us now, understanding the 'we' of the Thessalonian Epistles as a proper plural, see whether the lapses into the

singular first personal pronoun are explicable. We have four passages to consider.

The first place where 'I' occurs is ii. 18—*διότι ἠβελήσαμεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος καὶ ἄπαξ καὶ δὶς, καὶ ἐνέκοψεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Σατανᾶς*. The transition to the singular here is very marked; *ἐγὼ* is emphatic, and the emphasis is fortified by the addition of the name *Παῦλος*. To explain the transition and the emphasis, we must consider the context. It runs as follows:—

“But we, brethren, being deprived (*or* orphaned—*ἀπορφανισθέντες*) of you for a short season (*πρὸς καιρὸν ὥρας*), in presence not in heart (*or* affection) endeavoured the more exceedingly to see your face with great desire, because we wanted to come to you *ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος* once and again, and Satan hindered us.”

The punctuation in the R.V. seems to me somewhat too heavy here. To place a colon after 'desire' is to disconnect *διότι ἠβελήσαμεν κ.τ.λ.* from what has gone before, whereas this sentence gives the reason for the strong desire (*ἐν πολλῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ*). Moreover, a semicolon after 'once and again' leads to a misunderstanding of the following words 'and Satan hindered us,' which must be closely connected with the statement 'we wanted to come to you.' Their great desire had been to return to Thessalonica, but Satan had hindered them. The very hindrance had intensified the desire, so that we might translate: “We, brethren, endeavoured the more exceedingly to see your face with great desire (*or* longing) because, though we wanted to come to you *ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος* once and again, Satan hindered us from so doing.”

I take it that the insurmountable obstacle, which is here ascribed to Satan, was the refusal of the politarchs of Thessalonica to allow Paul and Silas entrance into the city, from which they had been expelled in consequence of the opposi-

tion of the Jews, which had resulted in a riot (Acts xvii. 5–10). But a discussion of this point is not necessary here. Our chief concern is with the words—*ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος*. Why does St. Paul here specially refer to himself with such emphasis, instead of being content with the ‘we’ which he has just used? It would seem either that he has something to say of himself which he cannot say of his associates, or that he has some special reason for emphasising his own wish to return to Thessalonica.

The particle *μὲν* may be used here absolutely, in the sense of ‘indeed’ or it may imply an adversative *δέ*. Lightfoot explains it in the second of these two ways, and interprets the words as meaning: I Paul desired it more than once, whatever may be the feelings of Silvanus and Timothy. “The suppressed clause with *δέ* might have run *οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι περὶ ἐαυτῶν λεγέτωσαν*.” In this case St. Paul differentiates himself from his colleagues in that his wish to revisit Thessalonica had been repeated, theirs not. The words *καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις* are thus very closely linked with *ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος*. They have all wanted to go, but for himself alone he can speak in saying that the desire had been recurrent.

This explanation is, of course, grammatically possible, and it would account for the transition from the plural to the singular. It does not, however, seem to me satisfactory, for, according to it, the words would imply that the eagerness of his two associates was not equal to that of the Apostle himself. A better sense and one which accords with the general tone of the Epistle is obtained if *μὲν* be not taken to imply an adversative *δέ*. The Apostle need not here be making a statement applicable only to himself as distinguished from his colleagues, but he may be emphasising that to be true of himself personally which was true also of them. In this case the point of the parenthetical *ἐγὼ μὲν*

Παῦλος may well lie in this, that St. Paul wished to lay stress on the fact that he wanted to visit the Thessalonians personally and not by deputy. It did not satisfy him to send to learn about them, and he would have his converts know that it was from no want of personal interest in them that he had not come himself to revisit them. In the next chapter he goes on to speak of the sending of Timothy to them, and there seems to be an undercurrent of apology in this part of the Epistle that he did not go himself. Whether or not insinuations had been made that he did not really care for his converts but left them to endure persecution, we cannot of course decide. But the Apostle, whose sensitiveness is unconsciously portrayed in his writings, seems to have been jealous of his honour in the matter.

Thus I take the parenthesis *ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος* to mean, 'Yes, I Paul in person,' and I do not think that the words *καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις* belong specially to the parenthesis, but I should understand the sentence to mean: because we wished to come to you—yes, I Paul in person—once and again, and Satan hindered us.

I said just now that there appears to be an undercurrent of apology in this section of the Epistle, and I find such in the two verses which immediately follow those which we have been considering. It seems as if the Apostle were afraid that the Thessalonian Christians would fancy that he did not think enough of them, and he goes on: "For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of glorying—Are not even ye?—before our Lord Jesus at His coming? Yes, ye (emphatic) are our glory and our joy."

And when he goes on as he does in the next few verses (iii. 1 ff.) to speak of the sending of Timothy to Thessalonica, he exalts him very highly in calling him a *συνεργὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, an expression which he nowhere else applies to him—an expression moreover which has been watered down into

διάκονος τοῦ θεοῦ by copyists, or the τοῦ θεοῦ has been omitted, leaving Timothy only a fellow-worker of Paul and Silas. Why does the Apostle thus exalt Timothy in the eyes of the Thessalonians? May it not well be that he would have them understand that he had done his very best for them under the circumstances? He and Silvanus had made a sacrifice in sending Timothy from them—this is implied in the words, “We thought it good to be left behind in Athens alone”—and as they could not come themselves they had sent one whom they call their brother and “God’s fellow-worker in the gospel of Christ.” He was no mean substitute, one who could be thus described as *συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*.

All this seems to me to confirm the view which I take that the Apostle is offering a kind of apology for not coming himself to Thessalonica. He had wanted to come, yes to come in person, but that had been impossible.

The Apostle’s personal care and anxiety about his Thessalonian converts is emphasised once again in this same passage a few verses on. After speaking of the mission of Timothy (which the use of ‘we’ implies to have been the act of Silvanus as well as himself), and its purpose, he adds in verse 5: “For this cause I too (*καγὼ*)—I too on my own account—when I could no longer bear it, sent to know your faith, lest by any means the tempter had tempted you, and our labour should prove to be in vain.”

It has been suggested that this was a second mission sent from Athens subsequently to that of Timothy. But it seems wholly unnecessary to understand the passage thus. Timothy had been sent to establish (*στηρίξαι*) the Thessalonian Christians and to comfort them for the furtherance of their faith (iii. 2); but there was a further reason why he was sent. On his own personal account the Apostle says he had sent him, to relieve the tension of his anxious

mind, for he wanted to know whether his labour had been in vain. I take it that the *διὰ τοῦτο* of verse 5 is prospective, not retrospective like *διὸ* of verse 1. The *ἐγὼ* which follows and is fortified by *καί* (*διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ μηκέτι στέγων ἔπεμψα κ.τ.λ.*) is very emphatic. For this reason I because of my own personal anxiety sent, namely, that I might gain the assurance that I had not laboured to no purpose. Here again, then, the Apostle by his use of the first person singular impresses upon the Thessalonians his personal interest in and care for them.

We will now briefly consider the use of the singular in 2 Thessalonians ii. 5. Here, after speaking of the *ἀποστασία* and the revelation of "the man of lawlessness" which were to precede the Parousia, the Apostle parenthetically adds: "Remember ye not that while I was still with you I told you these things?" The 'I' is not emphatic here, but by his use of the singular St. Paul shows that the responsibility for the teaching was his own. Not but what he speaks in 1 Thessalonians i. 5 of "*our* gospel," so associating Silvanus and Timothy with himself in the ministry of the gospel. But it would appear that the particular teaching referred to in the passage under consideration from the second Epistle was specially the Apostle's own. This it would be if, as I believe, and as I have argued elsewhere,¹ it is St. Paul's interpretation of the signs of the times.

I have now given what seems to me the explanation of the transition from the plural to the singular first personal pronoun in 1 Thess. ii. 18, iii. 5, and 2 Thess. ii. 5. There remain the two other places where the same thing occurs. These are at the end of the first and second Epistles, and we may with advantage consider them together. The first Epistle ends thus: "I adjure you by the Lord that

this epistle be read unto all the brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.” And the second Epistle concludes with these words: “ The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand, which is the (*or a*) token (σημεῖον) in every Epistle ; so I write. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.”

We gather from these last words of the second Epistle that St. Paul concluded the letter with something written by his own hand, and that it was his habit so to do. There is, therefore, no difficulty in explaining the use of the first person singular in these two places, which form the conclusion of the two Epistles. St. Paul is writing with his own hand, and there is therefore nothing more natural than that he should use the singular ‘ I ’ in so doing. “ I adjure you by the Lord that this epistle be read unto all the brethren.” “ The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand, etc.” While, then, the Apostle is pleased to associate his fellow-workers with himself in the Epistle generally, he must in conclusion give what has been written the imprimatur of his personal approval and authority. We can never forget when we read St. Paul’s Epistles that while he may, in appropriate parts of them, be content to speak as if he were only a partner in their composition by using the plural ‘ we,’ yet the Epistles are really his. But I can see no reason for thinking that he ever says ‘ we ’ when he means ‘ I.’

E. H. ASKWITH.

DR. JOHANN LEPSIUS ON THE SYMBOLIC LANGUAGE OF THE APOCALYPSE

A. INTRODUCTION.

No book in the New Testament has been so much misunderstood, distorted and misapplied as the Revelation of St. John. No book is still so obscure. There exists, accordingly, a prejudice against any new attempt to explain its meaning, for one dreads to find that the new attempt is only some variety of the old methods, and that the new theorist is discovering in the old book a prophecy against his special enemy. We have, on the whole, been doing as well as we can without the Revelation: we have, most of us, been setting it aside as unintelligible, and contenting ourselves with the remainder of the New Testament, leaving the interpretation of this one book to enthusiasts (whom some miscall cranks).

Yet the Revelation is one of the greatest of books, marked out as such by the beauty of the conclusion, by the insight and sympathy shown in the Seven Letters to the Churches of Asia, and by occasional passages where we can see through the symbolism to the soul of the writer. What can be more wonderful as a piece of historical denunciation and insight than the picture of the fall of Rome in chapter xviii. ? In that chapter we have a plain example of the method followed in the whole book. It expounds principles. It states the laws that govern society and the world's history. It does not foretell times and seasons. Most of the would-be interpreters of the Revelation have forgotten the last word uttered by the Saviour on the earth (Acts i. 7) ; and have attempted to find in the Revelation a prediction of " times and seasons " and of the exact manner in which, and the persons through whom, the Will of God shall work itself out to its fulfilment. All such attempts are condemned before-

hand. There is rarely anything to be learned from them. Frequently, they are only examples of evil, because they minister to mutual hatred among different sects of Christians, and foster divisions among the great Church with its many various parts and discordant adherents, and increase the disunion which is the scandal of so-called Christianity. Whosoever despises and excludes from communion those whom he ought to reckon as brethren in the Faith, though they differ from him in details and trifles of outward form, is condemned as erring from the truth and missing the real essence while he holds fast to the unreal ceremonies, however much those ceremonies may mean to his own individual self.

The misinterpretations of the Revelations come mostly from within the Church: few who stand outside are interested enough in the book to speculate about its meaning. One of the few attempts from outside to explain a part of the book was made by my old friend, M. Salomon Reinach, who applied a certain agricultural and economic measure of the Emperor Domitian regarding the cultivation of the vine, as recorded by Roman historians and poets, to the interpretation of Revelation vi. 6.

The attempt appears to me to be an example of wrong method. That passage in the Revelation is the statement of a great moral principle regulating the limits of devastation during warfare in the Levant World.¹—one of those deep-lying principles which we often find ruling in the warfare even of savage races, though occasionally disregarded by the civilised barbarism of the “enlightened” nations of the West at the present day in the stress of war. The passage is not expressed on the humble level of an allusion to an evanescent and useless, though well-intended, effort of Domitian to regulate agriculture in Italy. Even if we

¹ This view is stated more fully in the concluding part of my *Cities of St. Paul*.

descend to that level, the explanation explains nothing ; but the real fault of the explanation is that it is conceived on the wrong plane of thought. Yet it has tempted many scholars, among others Dr. Moffatt in the *EXPOSITOR* a few years ago ; and, therefore, I find that I must record my dissent from my old friend on the whole principle as well as on the special applicability of his explanation in this particular case.

We have, then, been on the whole doing without the Revelation, setting it aside as practically unintelligible and getting on as well as we can with the rest of the New Testament. Such is the deliberate resolve of many great interpreters of the New Testament, men of real knowledge and sympathy. I have conversed with such men, true scholars and true preachers : they had set the Revelation apart as not for them, and confined themselves to the other books. Yet I am convinced that in no book of the Bible is the great truth more strongly emphasised that the soul of history is the Will of God,¹ and that the succession of events in the world's history is simply the gradual unfolding of that Will. I cannot understand the language in which much of the book is expressed ; but parts of it are clear in a certain degree, and they show what is the character of the whole Revelation. Everything that helps to explain the symbolic speech in which the book is expressed ought to be welcomed ; and one of the soundest and sanest explanations of certain parts and of the general principles of the symbolism is contained in the following papers by Dr. Johann Lepsius.

Dr. Lepsius, as I understand him,² is in perfect agreement

¹ This is only a rendering in modern more philosophic and abstract language of the last words in the first paragraph of the *Iliad* Διὸς ἐτελέετο βουλή : in the events of the whole poem the will of the supreme God was worked out to its consummation.

² I have conversed with him on this question, and as regards the following republication in English form, and have his permission for the transla-

with what appears to me to be the correct principle of interpretation of the Revelation. As he quotes in the end of his preparatory remarks the words of the Saviour to His disciples, so we must hold firmly : no man knows, i.e. no man will ever at any moment in history know, the day or the hour, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father alone.

The mere suggestion that astrology was an influence on the Revelation will shock and disgust many ; and Dr. Lepsius's real meaning must be properly understood at the outset. It is not for a moment to be supposed that, because magicians and astrologers used certain ideas and forms of thought, therefore John imitated those teachers of evil and enemies of the Faith. But those teachers were influential, because they used (and in so doing misused) forms and views which were current among the people of the Mediterranean lands. The views were not wrong in themselves : they were wrong only as perverted by the magicians. There was current in those lands an opinion that there is in heaven a world corresponding to and typical of the world of earth. Everything that is done rightly on earth has its prototype and justification in the heavenly world. Every congregation on earth has its heavenly counterpart : the Churches have their stars and their candlesticks in heaven, and these surround the Son of man. In my *Letters to the Seven Churches* I have published a relief, exemplifying the way in which this belief, that a heavenly counterpart of all religious ceremonial was concurrent with the performance of the ceremony on earth, was accepted in pagan circles. It was the same among the Hebrews and the Christians. The heaven and the earth unite in ministering to the glory of God. That pagan belief was

tion which my daughter has made. The copyright in his own work remains the property of Dr. Lepsius. I hope that the translation may direct English attention more to the rest of his writings.

one of the relics of truth misapplied, which Paul perceived in the pagan world (Romans i. 20, ii. 14 f.).

The stars in their courses obey the Will of God : they are His servants and ministers and angels ; so is fire and every phenomenon in earth and heaven. When He desired it, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera, and the sun and moon in their courses aided Joshua (not, however, by changing their courses, as is the common misunderstanding of a famous passage in the book of Joshua).

God is law, say the wise ; O soul, and let us rejoice,
For if He thunder by law, the thunder is still His voice.

The evil and the harm begin, when these ministers and angels and expressions of the Will of God are substituted in His place, and worshipped as independent of Him. Magic is the misapplication of beliefs and powers that have an original truth and are capable of a right application : ¹ magic is the degeneration of religion.

John expressed his vision of the world, of truth and victory and love, in the language of his time ; and we must go back to the language of his time in order to understand the vision. Such I take to be the meaning that guides Dr. Lepsius's exposition.

I see no discrepancy between my historico-geographical interpretation of some parts of the Revelation, and Dr. Lepsius's astrological interpretation of the language. We are only treating two different sides of the same process. Where real discrepancy exists, error may be suspected either on his side or more probably on mine. Moreover, Dr. Lepsius

¹ This is the principle which I have attempted to apply in regard to the frequent encounters between the [Apostles and magicians or soothsayers (as described in the Acts)—first in my *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, and afterwards more precisely and completely in *Pictures of the Apostolic Church*. Magicians like Simon and Barjesus possessed some real knowledge of nature and its powers and processes, but they eked out their knowledge by imposture and trickery, when the occasion required.

sees no fundamental discrepancy. He has to call in geography to aid in the explanation of the order of the Seven Churches and the Seven Letters. That order is neither the order of the Seven stars according to hours, nor the order according to days (horary or diurnal order). The horary order of the seven stars was astronomical (according to ancient conceptions of astronomy), first the higher stars, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, then the Sun, thereafter the lower stars, Venus, Mercury, Moon.

When each hour of the day is appropriated to its own special star in this horary order, recurring in due course time after time, the first hour of each day is found to belong to a different star (diurnal order of days in the week), Saturn, Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus. But the order of the Seven Churches is: (1) Saturn, (2) Jupiter, (3) Mars, (4) Venus, (5) Mercury, (6) Moon, (7) Sun; and the reason is sought by Dr. Lepsius "in the geographical situation of the Seven Cities" (p. 175).

In English I know only of one book about the New Testament which follows a path not essentially dissimilar to that of Dr. Lepsius. That is Colonel Mackinlay's book on *The Magi : How they Recognized the Star of Christ*. His work ¹ is one full of suggestion and inspired by new ideas; but it was too bold and too novel to be appreciated by English scholars, and very few have had the courage or the insight to understand it. When its results have been again reached by a great German scholar working on the more scientific methods of German learning, it may be remembered and appreciated in England also. At present it shares in the neglect which by most English scholars is accorded to anything that cannot quote German precedent and so justify its right to exist.

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ Hodder & Stoughton, 1908.

*B. DR. LEPSIUS'S PREFACE TO HIS EXPLANATION OF
THE SYMBOLISM.*

AMONGST the books of the Holy Scriptures, the Revelation of John is, with regard to its form, the most singular ; with regard to its contents the strangest and most difficult to understand. Nevertheless it has always possessed a great charm for lovers of the Divine Word, a charm which appeared to increase in proportion as the most contradictory explanations accumulated. The number of commentators who have attempted to break the seals of this book and to interpret its secrets is incalculable. With the exception of the Talmud and the Mohammedan commentaries of the Koran, there is (it must alas be said) no more hopeless and crazy literature than the interpretations of the Revelation of John. They resemble a bundle of strangely-shaped and rusty keys amongst which indeed no two are alike, but of which none fits the lock we wish to open.

Beyond doubt there was a time when this book was understood, for it is impossible to assume that the first readers for whom it was written were as perplexed by the book and its symbolical language as we are. No one could read the hieroglyphics on the walls of the Egyptian temples until the key of this picture-writing had been found ; but certainly the Egyptian priests could read them. The images of the Revelation are hieroglyphics. Is there a key for them ?

I do not assert that I am able to interpret the Revelation of John. For long since, Peter reminded the numerous prophets, who would gladly seat themselves like sparrows on the wings of the eagle in order to surpass by a little the height of his flight, that "no prophecy of Scripture is of private interpretation." Nothing should make us shrink so much from such an undertaking as a backward

glance from the fulfilment of the New Testament to the promise of the Old. Or was any one ever able to construct for himself, simply from the description of the suffering servant of God in the 53rd chapter of Isaiah without looking at the actual events, a picture of the Crucified Saviour and the manner of His death? Not until a prophecy is fulfilled is its explanation found.

Nevertheless I think I may say that in our time the Revelation of John can be read with more understanding than was possible before, for the riddle of the symbolical language of the Apocalypse is in the main solved.

The investigation of the Babylonian literature and its latest decipherment have disclosed to us much more richly and deeply the old Oriental methods of thinking and ways of presenting thoughts; but even this was not an indispensable preliminary. The Jewish literature outside of the Bible contained already sufficient hints and indications to explain the symbolical language of the Revelation.

Certainly the solution of the riddle will seem strange to many.

The symbolic pictures which make the Apocalypse so difficult to understand belong to the technical speech of a study which, since the days of Confucius, has been banned by science, namely, astrology. The Apocalypse was a book with seven seals for us, because we were unacquainted with the symbolical language of the ancient oriental astrology, and because we so little expected to receive disclosures about a book of the Holy Scriptures from this strange world of thought.

In a certain sense the Revelation of John is an astrological book, for it makes use of the speech of the old astrology, the speech of the sages of the East. But it does not, therefore, cease to be a prophetic book. For the

prophet as well as the poet may go for his images wherever it pleases him and the Spirit which moves him.

It is not accidental that the greatest poem amongst all the works of the world's literature which the Christian Church has called forth, the Divine Comedy of Dante, most nearly resembles the Revelation of John, not only by its symbolic garb and the subjects which it treats of, but also by its peculiar mixture of cosmological, theological, and historical speculations. I repeat that it is not accidental, for Dante, like the seer of the Revelation, believed in the old oriental idea of the universe; he was familiar with the seven heavens and the seven hells, with the doctrine of gods and angels and with the cosmic conception of divinity which was common to the ancient world. Perhaps some readers will find the Revelation more interesting when they realise the spiritual relationship of Dante and the writer of the Apocalypse, and will then be the more willing to grant to the seer of the Revelation that right of symbolic speech which they unhesitatingly accord to the author of the Divine Comedy.

If in the following paper ¹ we again endeavour to give a brief explanation of the Revelation of John, it is solely with the idea of making its astrological picture-language clear, and not in order to further the misuse to which even nowadays (as in former times) this book is subjected, namely, the attempt to see in it prophecies regarding a near or distant future. The reserve which the Son of God laid on Himself to avoid the questions of the curious: "But the day and the hour no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor yet the Son, but the Father alone," should not be too difficult for us as disciples of Jesus.

¹ An earlier short essay by the writer did not rouse general attention; it was published in *Reich Christi*, iv. 1901, part i. Compare also an article on "die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der christlichen Weltanschauung" in *Reich Christi*, vi. 1903, Parts vii., viii.

C. THE SEVEN STARS AND THE SEVEN CANDLESTICKS.

Every reader of the Revelation must be struck by the frequent use which John makes of symbolical numbers in connexion with images and visions. The number seven and the number twelve appear to rule this whole symbolical world, and to be in the highest degree significant. In the greeting with which the seer begins his messages to the seven communities it astonishes us that where we had expected to find the Holy Ghost beside God and Jesus Christ in the usual trinitary formula, we meet instead with "the seven spirits before His throne." In the first vision which John describes we see the Son of Man in a divine vision standing between the seven golden candlesticks, holding seven stars in His right hand and giving the command to write to the seven congregations in Asia Minor. The vision of the stars and candlesticks is thus interpreted :

The seven stars are the angels of the seven congregations.

And the seven candlesticks are seven congregations.

It is well known that everywhere in the old Eastern cosmology the number seven refers to the seven planets and the number twelve to the twelve signs of the zodiac. The seven gods and the twelve gods of the ancient religions are most easily explained if we convince ourselves that the old Eastern religions were originally astral religions, and had turned aside from the worship of the Most High God to the cult of the spirits of the stars. The attributes of the Most High God were given to His servants, the princes of the heavenly hosts, and individual star-gods, especially from among the circle of the seven planets, were arbitrarily raised to the head of the heavenly Pantheon, principally for

political and hierarchical reasons. The doctrine of the angels and that of the star-gods have the same origin. According to the belief of the Jewish people also, the angels are star-spirits who form the heavenly court of God. We shall see that in the symbolism of the Apocalypse, too, the seven archangels appear as the spirits of the seven planets, and the four Cherubim (beasts) as angels of four quarters of the zodiac (circle of beasts). But amongst the peoples of the ancient world, the Israelites alone continued to regard the angels of the stars as inferior to the highest God, and did not raise them to the rank of gods, much less set aside the highest God to make room for them. On this fact rests the rightful historical title of the Israelites, alone amongst the peoples of the ancient world, to be called "the people of God." The pagan nations all went over to the cult of the planets, the Israelites alone did not do so, or at least only when they consciously fell away from their faith.

When the Son of God ascended to heaven and was set upon the right hand of the Father, He was raised above all the spirits of the planets and fixed stars and the "dominions, thrones and principalities" of the celestial world, that is to say, all ranks of angels or star-spirits became subject to Him.

The first vision of the Revelation, the Son of Man who holds the seven stars, that is, the seven planets, in His hand, utters with the impressive power of symbolic language the first message which is given to the seer of the Revelation: Jesus, the Son of God, is raised to the throne of the Cosmos, the planet-gods who were worshipped by all the world are in His hand, the spirits of the stars have become His servants and have lost their right of sovereignty over the earth. The attributes and power of the pagan gods, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, Moon and Sun, have passed over to

the Son of Man ; adorned with their lustre He appears in celestial splendour to His mortally terrified disciple.

D. THE SEVEN CONGREGATIONS.

The angels of the seven congregations, which the Son of Man holds as stars in His right hand, are the seven planet-angels, according to the Jewish belief the seven archangels. The seven candlesticks are the seven congregations of Asia Minor, and at the same time, in the symbolic imagery of the whole vision, the representatives of the entire pagan-Christian community. The seven congregations, according to the astrological point of view which underlies the vision, are under the astral influence of the seven planet-spirits, who on their side again are represented as the bearers of the sevenfold power of the Holy Ghost. The identification in the Koran of the angel Gabriel with the Holy Ghost is probably a remnant of that belief which saw in the seven archangels the bearers and mediators of the power of the Holy Ghost. The attributes which are given to the Son of Man in the seven letters, are not taken merely from the Jewish doctrine of the angels, they correspond also to the Graeco-Roman theology,¹ as a sign that the cosmic power of the Greek gods has passed over to the Son of Man, just as the angels now exercise their power over the earth only as instruments of the Son of Man. In a later vision (v. 6) the spirits of the seven planets are represented with bold symbolism as the "seven horns and seven eyes" of the Lamb, with the explanatory remark : "These are the seven spirits of God which are sent forth into all the earth" (compare Zechariah iv. 7, "those seven ; they are the eyes of the Lord which gaze upon the whole earth").

It may seem strange to us that the angels are made

¹ *Götterlehre.*

responsible for the congregations which are under their influence. But here we have to do with an idea which appears in Jewish theology also, according to which angels and men are so bound together in their reciprocal influence that they mutually decide one another's destiny. This point of view therefore permits us to regard the angels of the seven communities not only as the spirits of the seven planets, but also as bearers of the spirit of the seven communities, and as their directors or bishops. To whomsoever God gives an office, to him He likewise grants the Spirit for it.

In the promises also which are made to each of the congregations at the end of each message, is reflected the astral character of the several congregations. It is not improbable that the seven messages decided Dante, who was guided by a correct understanding of the Apocalypse, to place the spirits of the blest after their death in the seven heavens, that is, the seven planets. In the whole ancient oriental cosmology, which was known to the Apostle Paul too, the seven heavens are the spheres of the seven planets. When the Apostle Paul in 2 Corinthians xii. 2-4 speaks of his raptures and says that he was taken up once into the third heaven and once into Paradise, we may assume, in conformity with the promise which is made to the Church of Ephesus, that in his view Paradise was a name for the seventh heaven. During his progress through the seven heavens, Dante, led by Beatrice, visits the seven planets one by one, and finds there the departed souls of the righteous, in sevenfold order of degree, and in different stages of bliss which correspond to the spiritual character and maturity of their past terrestrial life. But he expressly wishes that this should not be literally understood, and blames Plato because he in his *Timæus* "seems," as he says, "to believe that the soul returns to the star from which,

according to his opinion, it came when Nature gave it its form " (*Paradiso*, Canto 4, 52).

But, if Plato meant it in a different sense, " that the good or evil influence returns to the spheres, then surely his bow struck the truth " (*Paradiso*, Canto 4, 58, 59, 60).

Dante's meaning, therefore, is that the transporting of the souls to the planets is only the symbolic way of expressing that men during their terrestrial life are subject to the benignant or malignant influence of the stars, an influence which returns to the stars at the death of those men.

The seven messages also, with their promises, are not intended to give expression to the idea that the souls of the " overcomers " will find the reward of their faithfulness after death in the seven heavens (through transportation to the planets), but only that the good spirit of their star will continue to influence their future life if they are found worthy of resurrection. " He that overcometh shall inherit all (the bliss of the Paradise which has arisen again on the new earth), and I will be his God and he will be My son."

In Dante's *Paradiso* the seven heavens are introduced in the order which corresponds to the order of hours of the planets. The association of the days of the week with the seven planets is founded on the order of hours of the planets. According to Dio Cassius, the naming of our week days after the planets (which has certainly come down to us from the Babylonians), has the following origin. The first hour of the Sabbath was placed under the influence of Saturn, and by placing each of the twenty-four hours of the day one by one under another planet, always going round the circle again, with the first hour of the next day the Sun was reached, with the first hour of the following day the Moon, and so on to Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Venus. This gave occasion to name the days of the week after the planets that ruled their first hours.

The horary order is obtained by arranging the planets according to the duration of their course. The enumeration of the seven heavens (which is followed by Dante also) corresponds regularly to this order.

1. Heaven : Moon.
2. Heaven : Mercury.
3. Heaven : Venus.
4. Heaven : Sun.
5. Heaven : Mars.
6. Heaven : Jupiter.
7. Heaven : Saturn.

Thus the lower planets come first, then the Sun, and then the higher planets. The Sun and the Moon were counted as planets by the ancients.

By counting the horary planets throughout the whole week ¹ a different planet falls every time on the first hour of each succeeding day, from which arises the order of planets which corresponds to the week-days.²

Sun : Sunday (Sonntag), dies Solis.

Moon : Monday (Montag, Lundi), dies Lunae.

Mars : Tuesday (Mardi, Dienstag), dies Martis.³

Mercury : Wednesday (Mercredi), dies Mercurii.

Jupiter : Thursday (Jeudi, Donnerstag), dies Jovis.

Venus : Friday (Vendredi, Freitag), dies Veneris.

Saturn : Saturday (Samedi, Samstag), dies Saturni.

The planet-angels of the seven messages are arranged according to the horary order of the planets, from Saturn

¹ Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischer Chronologie*, ii. p. 177 (Berlin, 1826),

² Tew-Zin—Mars, Mercury—Wodan, Jupiter—Donar-Thor.

³ Saturday (Saturn) 765432176543217654321765

Sunday (Sun) 432176543217654321765432

Monday (Moon) 176543217654321765432176

Tuesday (Mars) 543217654321765432176543

Wednesday (Mercury) 217654321765432176543217

Thursday (Jupiter) 654321765432176543217654

Friday (Venus) 321765432176543217654321.

to the Moon, except that the Sun is placed at the end. The cause of this arrangement is probably to be looked for in the geographical situation of the seven cities of Asia Minor, to which the book of the Revelation was to be sent as a circular letter. From this arises the following order, which makes apparent the connexion of the planets and their angels with the seven communities. We add the Aramaic names ¹ of the seven planets and the seven archangels as they correspond to the seven Roman planet-gods :

Ephesus : Saturn : Sabbathai (Sabbath star) : Caphziel or Saraphiel.

Smyrna : Jupiter : Zedek (the just) : Zedekiel.

Pergamos : Mars : Maadim (the red) : Sammael.

Thyatira : Venus : Voga (the shining one) : 'Anael.

Sardis : Mercury : Kokab (the star) : Michael.

Philadelphia : Moon : Lebana (the white one) : Gabriel.

Laodicea : Sun : Chamma (the shining one) : Raphael.

E. THE LETTERS TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

I. *Ephesus.*

The angel who rules the community in Ephesus is the angel of the seventh heaven, the angel of Saturn. His name, Caphziel, has been retained in Mohammedan astrology as Cazphiel. Saturn or Sabbathai is the star of the Sabbath, the day on which God rested from all His works, on which the first man lived the first day in Paradise. The life of Paradise is the life of blissful rest and eternal peace, of which the Sabbath is a symbol. In the Greek mythology

¹ The Aramaic names of the planet-angels have passed into the Mohammedan astrology, where they are thus called, according to Abdul Maaschari Belki : Melik Rufiail (Raphael). Sun : M. Gabriel. Moon : M. Semsemail (Sammael). Mars : M. Michael. Mercury : M. Sarfiail (Saraphiel). Jupiter : M. Anjajil ('Anael). Venus : M. Kesfiail (Caphziel). Saturn.

also the age of Saturn is the age of Paradise. It is ruled by Kronos (Saturn), the father of Zeus (Jupiter) and is called the Golden Age in which the race of men dwelt in Paradise.

“First of all, a golden race of mortal men did the Immortal Dwellers in Olympos fashion. These lived in the time of Kronos when he was king in Heaven. Like gods they lived, having a soul unknowing sorrow, apart from toil and travail. Neither were they subject to miserable eld, but ever the same in hand and foot, they took their pleasure in festival apart from all evil. And they died as overcome of sleep. All good things were theirs. The bounteous earth bare fruit for them of her own will, in plenty and without stint. And they in peace and quiet lived on their lands with many good things, rich in flocks and dear to the blessed gods.”¹

According to Dante, Saturn is the star of the cold time. (*Purg.*, 19. 3) which is warmed for the first time by the love-power of Christ, the heavenly lion, who has renewed the Golden Age.

We are raised into the seventh splendour which,
under the breast of the burning lion, shines down,
mingled with his strength (*Paradiso*, Canto 21. 13-15).

In the seventh heaven Dante finds the holy hermits who lead a happy life of Eden-like simplicity which is given up to the blissful contemplation of God.

The angel of the Sabbath-star, as the star of the seventh day and the seventh heaven, has, like all planet-gods, resigned his power to the Son of Man, “That holdeth the seven stars in His right hand, Who walketh amongst the seven golden candlesticks.”

The community of Ephesus is reproached for its coldness and lovelessness and is exhorted to return to the works

¹ Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 109-120. Taken from the excellent translation by Professor A. W. Mair.

of its first love ; but to him that overcometh is promised the fruit “ of the tree of life which is in the Paradise of God.”

II. *Smyrna.*

The star of the community in Smyrna is the planet Zedek or Jupiter, Zedekiel, the angel of the sixth heaven. Zedek signifies justice. Jupiter is the judge of life and death, the lord of the tribunal and guardian of right. Dante, too, makes Jupiter the star of the sixth heaven. When he is raised into the light of the sixth star, he sees the swarm of souls which hover in its light forming with their wings characters from which he deciphers the words : “ diligite iustitiam, qui iudicatis terram,” love justice, ye that rule the earth (*Wisdom of Solomon*, i. 1).

Then Dante sees the swarm of souls which inhabit the sixth heaven form themselves into the likeness of a shining eagle, as the symbol of the power of justice, upon which he cries out to the star :

“ Oh, sweet star, such and so many jewels show me that our justice is the effect of the heaven which thou dost adorn ” (*Paradiso*, Canto 18. 115-117).

The dominion of Jupiter has, as the message to the Church of Smyrna shows, passed over to the Son of Man, Who as “ the first and the last, who was dead and is become alive again,” is now the only lord over life and death, and alone can condemn to the “ second death,” which is damnation. The Church is still at war with the Synagogue of Satan and its lord the Devil, who tries to pervert them to unfaithfulness by imprisonment and death. But the Lord will lead those who overcome and remain true to Him through tribulation, prison, death and judgment, will guard them, and as judge of the living and the dead absolve them from the second death, damnation.

III. Pergamon.

The angel which rules the Church in Pergamon is the angel of the fifth heaven, the planet Mars, in Aramaic Maadim, the red one, the war-god, an angel named Sammael. His attribute, "the sharp, double-edged sword," has passed from his hands into the power of the Son of Man; it is, however, not in the right hand but in the mouth of the Son of Man that the sword appears, as a sign that He rules, not by violence, but by the power of His word. In the later Jewish literature, Sammael, the angel of Mars, is identified with Satan. How old this identification is it will be difficult to ascertain. But already in the book of Job, Satan appears in heaven among "the Sons of God," the "angels who come before God," that is among the seven archangels or planet-angels. When Goethe, in the prologue in heaven, chose the scene from Job as his model, and made the devil appear before God, with the archangels Raphael, Gabriel and Michael, he followed not only the book of Job but also the later Jewish belief.

In the message to Pergamon the expression twice occurs, first: "I know where thou dwellest, even where Satan's seat is," and then "among you, where Satan dwelleth." The planet Mars was regarded as the seat of Satan's authority.

When Dante enters the sphere of the fifth heaven, he recognises

"By the inflamed smile of the star, which seemed
to me glowing more red than usual" (*Paradiso*,
Canto 14. 86-87)

that he is in the planet Mars. In Aramaic Mars is called the Red One. Then in a wonderful vision Dante sees how a cross is formed out of the rays of Mars:

"Here let memory take the place of wit: for on

the cross I saw Christ shining, so that I can find no worthy comparison " (*Paradiso*, Canto 14. 103-5).

"Then from the lights which had appeared to me there arose about the Cross a melody which charmed me, although I could not understand the words of it. But I could well note that it was full of high praise, for I caught the words *resurgi*, and then *vinci* ! " (*Paradiso*, Canto 14. 121-125).

"Arise and overcome ! " sounds from the cross of Christ. The war-god Mars has had to give up his power of victory to Christ. "Or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth."

A remarkable parallel helps us to an understanding of the strange promise which is made to those of the congregation in Pergamon who overcome. In the Midrash the seven heavens are introduced in the following order :

1. vilun = Sun. Cholta. Sunday.
2. rakia = Moon. Rokeïta. Monday.
3. schechakim = Mars. Gemmita. Tuesday.
4. zebul = Mercury. Nehorita. Wednesday.
5. maon = Jupiter. Rochashita. Thursday.
6. machon = Venus. Churpita. Friday.
7. araboth = Saturn. Regoïta. Saturday.

Since, according to the Midrash, the "archangel Michael" dwells in the fourth heaven, we may assume that the seven heavens are reckoned in the order given above (that of the days of the week), for Michael is Mercury. The third heaven, according to the order of the days of the week, thus corresponds to the fifth in the horary order of the planets, the planet Mars. We have placed alongside of the seven heavens, from the Targum of the book of Esther, the names of the seven handmaids who served Esther on the seven days of the week. The name Rokeïta, the name of that one of Esther's maids who on Monday, the day of creation,

brought her the rakia (vest), proves that the second heaven, called rakia, is to be ascribed to the Moon. Thus the third heaven, Shechakim, is the heaven of Mars. Of this heaven we read in the Midrash : " In the heaven called schechakim ¹ there are millstones, which grind the heavenly Manna for the departed righteous." It is evidently to this that the promise refers which they that overcome among the community in Pergamon receive : " To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white mill-stone ² and on the stone a new name written, which no man knows saving he that receiveth it."

J. LEPSIUS.

HELENA RAMSAY, *transl.*

DID PAUL EVOLVE HIS GOSPEL ?

(1) THERE are fashions in thought, which sometimes become almost superstitions. About the value of the idea of evolution for modern knowledge there can be no doubt or question. In nature and in history alike it enables us to think things together. In every department of science the *static* view is being replaced by the *dynamic*, the world and man are being interpreted as not at rest, but in movement. At present at least we cannot conceive a category which is likely to supersede this dominant conception. Nevertheless there is a twofold danger in the universal application of

¹ From schachak = to grind.

² It is possible that the reference to the manna-mills was not comprehensible to the Greek translator of the Apocalypse, who translated stone as $\psi\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$. Nevertheless $\psi\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$ signifies a pebble. In the East large pebbles are used as millstones. [This is the least convincing detail in Dr. Lepsius's explanation. The purpose of the "white stone" was to receive a name. Millstones are not intended to receive a name. The kind of stone ($\psi\eta\phi\omicron\varsigma$) which the writer of the Apocalypse had in mind was a *tessera*, as is pointed out in my *Letters to the Seven Churches*.—W.M.R.]

the idea. On the one hand the thinker is liable to ignore the permanent elements in recognising the progressive stages in any object of study. On the other all change tends to be conceived as necessarily more gradual than it actually is. The catastrophic cannot be altogether banished from nature, nor the revolutionary from history. Two instances of the misapplication of the idea of evolution in Christian theology may be mentioned, although it is the intention of this article to examine only one of them more closely. It is a common opinion that in the ministry of Jesus we can trace a gradual development of His own view of His vocation. He began as a teacher, hoping to win the people by the truth which He offered, and only slowly did He come to know that not thus, but by His suffering would He fulfil His calling. That there was the unfolding of a purpose in the work of Jesus may be fully acknowledged. There was change of method with change of circumstance. But the writer feels sure that there was no change of purpose in the mind of Jesus. In his *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus* he has endeavoured to show that even in the Baptism Jesus already dedicated Himself to the realisation of the ideal presented to His conscience in the suffering servant of Jehovah. From this instance we may, however, turn to examine more closely the general assumption that we can distinctly trace an evolution of Paul's Gospel in his letters.

(2) The proof of this statement appears to the writer to involve reasoning in a circle. First of all the letters are arranged in the order in which such an evolution is apparent, and then the evolution is proved from this order of the letters. It is usual to arrange Paul's letters in four groups, (1) 1 and 2 *Thessalonians* ; (2) 1 and 2 *Corinthians*, *Galatians* and *Romans* ; (3) *Colossians* with *Philemon*, *Ephesians*, and *Philippians* ; (4) 1 and 2 *Timothy*, *Titus*. The

first group may be called the eschatological, the second the soteriological, the third the Christological, and the fourth the pastoral; and each group may be supposed to show an advance in the thought of Paul. To carry out this idea of evolution consistently, a certain arrangement within the groups themselves seems to be necessary. Although there are good reasons for placing *Galatians* before 1 and 2 *Corinthians*, yet from this point of view it would seem necessary to place this epistle as near to *Romans* as possible, as both letters move in the same circle of thought. Similarly all the indications are that *Philippians* was written after *Colossians* (with *Philemon*) and *Ephesians*, and yet there is a passage in this epistle that brings it nearer to *Romans* than these other epistles, and again consistency in applying the theory would seem to require that all the other evidence should be set aside, and that the earlier date should be chosen. A study of the Pauline theology has led the writer to the conviction that this assumption of an evolution in Paul's thought has resulted in forcing an order, which is not the historical, on his letters, and that, setting aside the assumption, we get a more satisfactory arrangement; and further, that the assumption itself as commonly held is unwarranted. We may first consider how this view affects the position assigned to the letters, and then discuss the argument which can be advanced against the view itself.

(3) The general acceptance of the South Galatian theory as a result of the strenuous advocacy of it by Sir William Ramsay makes it possible to assign to the Epistle to the *Galatians* a much earlier date than the North Galatian theory allowed. But most scholars are deterred by this assumption from placing it before 1 and 2 *Thessalonians*, in which the earliest phase of Paul's Gospel is supposed to be presented. The explanation of the peculiar contents of 1 and

2 *Thessalonians* may be held over till we have fixed the date of *Galatians*. The writer finds himself in entire agreement with Dr. Bartlett (*The Apostolic Age*, pp. 84–85) in assigning *Galatians* to the close of the first missionary journey, and prior to the Council in Jerusalem ; but thinks it less likely that it was “ written when en route for Jerusalem ” than that it was sent off before the decision to refer the question to the Church in Jerusalem had been made. Once Paul consented to that course, the matter was *sub judice* ; and it would not have been becoming in him to discuss it as he does in the Epistle. Surely the circumstances amid which the letter was written are well described in *Acts* xv. 1, 2. The reasons for assigning this date to *Galatians* are the following : (i) Despite all the ingenuity which scholars have displayed in proving the identity of the visit to Jerusalem described in *Acts* xv. with that of which Paul gives an account in *Galatians* ii. 1–10, the writer cannot persuade himself that Paul would have been dealing honestly with his readers, had he described only the private conferences, and kept silence altogether about the public assembly with its important decision affecting the relation of Jews and Gentiles within the Church. (ii) If it be argued that Paul and Luke are not referring to the same visit, but that Paul is writing in *Galatians* about the visit Luke refers to in *Acts* xi. 30, it seems still less possible to place *Galatians* after the Council, as total silence regarding a visit of such primary importance would have been disingenuous in the extreme. (iii) The action of Peter and Barnabas at Antioch, which Paul so severely rebuked (*Gal.* ii. 11–21), is much more improbable after the Council when a decision on the question had been reached than before, when there was still uncertainty. Does not Peter’s speech (*Acts* xv. 7–11) at the Council show how thoroughly he had taken to heart the lesson Paul had given him on that

occasion. The mood of *Galatians* i. and ii. with its vehement assertion of independence appears real before the Council, as it does not after, when Paul had acquiesced in these negotiations with the mother Church. Such indications as the history in *Acts* afford us suggest that at first Paul was treated with such suspicion as aroused his resentment, and that his mood at first was not as conciliatory as it afterwards became. Conscious of his own distinctive Gospel, and the vocation as the Apostle of the Gentiles which this involved, he was for a time impatient of any interference, and was only slowly brought to see that for the unity of the Christian Church he must make some concessions. But if *Galatians* was written after the Council we must assume that Paul relapsed from this more conciliatory mood. (v.) Could Paul honestly have asserted such independence as he does in *Galatians* after he had consented to the question being submitted to the Church in Jerusalem? (vi.) The early date of *Galatians* enables us to assign their plain sense to the words in i. 6: "I marvel that ye are so quickly removing from him that called you in the grace of Christ unto a different Gospel," whereas the later date involves a torturing of the language. (vii.) The contrast of tone and thought even between *Galatians* and *Romans* is an argument against bringing them closely together. It is not likely that Paul would deal with the topic as vehemently as he does in the one letter, and soon after discuss it as calmly as he does in the other. The one was written in the very heat of the conflict, the other when the worst of the danger was past. (viii.) A more general consideration may be added. Would not the question of the intercourse between Jew and Gentile in the Christian Church emerge almost as soon as Gentiles began to enter the Church? And would not Paul as a Pharisee have been forced to face the question

for himself as soon as he himself began to preach among the Gentiles ? The fiercest controversy was likely to be at an earlier rather than a later date. (ix.) The one objection to the early date is that the theology of *Galatians* appears more developed than that of 1 and 2 *Thessalonians*. But this objection can be met by showing, as the writer believes can be shown, that it was this Gospel of justification by faith alone which Paul reached as a result of his meditation on his conversion before he began his missionary labours, and that had he not reached this distinctive Gospel, but only such common Christian teaching as we find in 1 and 2 *Thessalonians*, he would never have realised his own unique vocation as the apostle to the Gentiles. This was the constant element in all his preaching. It appears in *Philippians* near the close of his ministry as in *Galatians* at the beginning. This view must be more fully justified in the subsequent discussion.

(4) Much more briefly can we deal with 1 and 2 *Thessalonians*. The difference between these two letters has led some scholars to deny the authenticity of the second ; but Harnack's recent suggestion that the first epistle was addressed to the Gentile, and the second to the Jewish section of the Church, would relieve the difficulty. Without now giving judgment on this suggestion, the writer would point out the wider principle involved, namely, that the contents of Paul's letters were not determined by what he himself was thinking at the time, but by the needs of those whom he was addressing. In Thessalonica there was no problem of the relation of the Law and the Gospel, and so it was not necessary to present the distinctive Gospel which for Paul himself had solved the problem. Further, the eschatological teaching of the letter cannot be regarded as a temporary phase of Paul's theology ; it is a constant element. This mood of expectancy that he would survive

to the Second Advent might give way to a mood of acquiescence in death as the way home to his Lord, but his conception of the last things was too deeply rooted to be overthrown. In *Philippians*, written in a mood in which to die seems to him gain (i. 21), he still expresses the common Christian hope, "we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ" (iii. 20, 21). The doctrines which are most prominent in his writings are not successive phases of a theological development, but constant elements in a theology, made up of many parts, not all entirely harmonious, because derived from so varying sources.

(5) There is no good ground for regarding the eschatological as prior to the soteriological stage of Paul's thought. If the former was what he owed to the common Christian tradition, and usually preached, the latter was his own distinctive Gospel, and as such was not only the satisfaction of his own personal need as a converted Pharisee, but also the impulse to his vocation as preacher to the Gentiles. Must we recognise a fresh theological development in the Christological teaching of *Colossians* and *Ephesians*? Here we must concede that two new influences did affect Paul's thinking. (i.) In the first place the heresy which is dealt with in *Colossians* supplied Paul with the weapons that he handled so skilfully in his warfare against it. The writer cannot find, however, that a new conception of Christ emerges in the letters. The recognition of Jesus' Lordship, which we find in the early letters, involved that His claim to supremacy over all other powers in the Universe would be asserted as soon as challenged. To the modern man, to whom nature means much more than grace, a cosmic function may appear greater than Saviourhood, but we may be sure that for Paul Saviourhood was the ultimate fact about Christ, and to that all other assertions made in its defence against all rival claims were sub-

ordinate. In 2 *Corinthians* viii. 9, we have a pregnant Christological statement, of which *Philippians* ii. 5-11 is but a development. Paul's valuation of Christ did not alter, although error might lead him to be more explicit and emphatic at one time than another in expressing that value in doctrine. Still less did any Christological interest divert his mind from the soteriological. In *Philippians* iii. 1-16 we have in a description of his own experience a summary of the teaching of *Romans* and *Galatians*. One may venture the suggestion even that had it not been for the Colossian heresy, Paul's own interest would not have led him into these paths at all. (ii.) As regards what may be called the ecclesiastical interest, especially in *Ephesians*, while the vocabulary is borrowed from heresy, yet a real interest of Paul's finds expression. It is the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile in Christ that is the surpassing glory of the Church of Christ, and is not this interest continuous with the soteriological in *Galatians* and *Romans*? The controversy that evoked the first, and has still its echoes in the second epistle was at an end when *Ephesians* was written ; but had the controversy not ended in the emancipation of the Gentiles, for which these earlier epistles contended, this later epistle could not have presented to us a united Church as the body of the Lord. Of course Paul did learn from history ; and he could in *Ephesians* conceive the Church of Christ as at an earlier stage in his career it was impossible for him to do ; but in asserting the sufficiency of Christ for salvation to Jew and Gentile alike he was laying the foundation of his later doctrine. What has to be insisted on is that Paul did not add one doctrine to another, but that in his distinctive Gospel there was already implicit the moral and spiritual appreciation of Christ and His salvation which was on necessary occasions made more explicit now in one respect and then in another.

(6) We may for our purpose exclude the Pastoral Epistles from our consideration, as even if they are in their present form Paul's, they present to us no theological progress on his previous writings. If *Galatians* be the first and *Philippians* the last of the letters to be taken into account, if 1 and 2 *Thessalonians* present to us teaching specially adapted to the temporary and local circumstances, and if *Colossians* and *Ephesians* differ in their doctrine in form rather than in substance from Paul's other writings, we need not admit an evolution of Paul's Gospel. This does not mean that there was no progress in his religious life and thought, that Christ did not become to him always more precious as the object of his faith, hope, love, that he made no advance in moral insight and spiritual discernment as regards the contents and applications of his distinctive Gospel, but it does mean that the Gospel of free grace for faith alone was no temporary phase, but the constant element, and the most potent factor in his personal development. For this assertion we may now offer positive evidence. In the first place, Paul's own personality makes such an evolution of his Gospel improbable. Dr. Percy Gardner maintains that we must recognise in history "a great force, which is not, so far as we can judge, evolutionary, and the law of which is very hard to trace—the force of personality and character" (*A Historic View of the New Testament*, p. 13). ¶Not every personality advances by a gradual development; but there are personalities which we may describe as catastrophic or explosive rather than slowly progressive. On the crises in personal history Browning delights to dwell, and has well described such experiences in the lines—

"Oh we're sunk enough here God knows!

But not quite so sunk that moments,

Sure though seldom, are denied us,

When the spirit's true endowments

Stand out plainly from its false ones,
And apprise it if pursuing
Or the right way or the wrong way,
To its triumph or undoing."

"There are flashes struck from midnights,
There are fire-flames noondays kindle,
Whereby piled-up honours perish,
Whereby swollen ambitions dwindle,
While just this or that poor impulse
Which for once had play unstified
Seems the sole work of a lifetime
That away the rest have trifled."

(Christina.)

If we consider the whole history of Paul as that is disclosed to us in his letters, are we not forced to the conclusion that his was a catastrophic or explosive rather than a slowly progressive personality? That he was converted from the persecutor to the preacher of the Gospel was not contradictory of, but consistent with his peculiar disposition and temperament. He was not melancholic or phlegmatic, but sanguine or choleric. So intense and passionate was he, that sudden and thorough change was characteristic of him. His conversion dominated his whole subsequent career. Sir William Ramsay well interprets the mind of Paul in words he, as it were, puts upon his lips. "In the divine reckoning my life begins from the conversion and call to the Gentiles. . . . If you would understand my life, you must refer every act in it to that primary revelation of the will of God in me" (*Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, p. 272). This applies to his ideas as well as his actions. His Gospel was included in his conversion, and it was his meditation that made explicit in doctrine what was thus implicit in experience. When did this explication take place?

(7) Assuming that the writings display an evolution of his Gospel, it must have been during his ministry that

he became more fully aware of what his conversion meant. The writer, however, is convinced that the explication took place soon after the conversion itself, probably before the ministry began. An intellect, acute and disciplined as was Paul's, could not have left the miracle and the mystery of his conversion unexplored. Truth had for him not a theoretical interest, but a practical. In the contrast between his experience as a Pharisee and his experience as a Christian resulting from his conversion, in which the old things had passed away, and all things had become new, he had the data for his distinctive Gospel, and his equipment and discipline as a Roman citizen and a Jewish scribe enabled him to elaborate the data as he did. It was not after his conversion that he acquired the Jewish learning or the Gentile culture that he possessed, but it was his at his conversion, available for an immediate application to the many questions which such an event at once started in so fertile and keen a mind. Doubtless it was in Arabia that he reached certainty and lucidity of conviction, and soon after his return he discovered that while in general agreement with the common teaching of the Christian Church, yet God had in a special way revealed His Son in him (*Galatians* i. 16), and that he had a Gospel which he could call his own, given him by God, and not by man. It was the possession of this distinctive Gospel which impelled him to become the Apostle of the Gentiles. If 1 and 2 *Thessalonians* had represented all his Gospel at the time, there would have been no reason in his convictions for his sense of a call of God to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. It is surely more reasonable to suppose that it was not in any mysterious impulse that he discovered his unique vocation, but that the Gospel implied in his conversion by its distinctive features was the urgent motive of his vocation.

(8) An examination of that Gospel supports the conclusion that it was all involved in his conversion. His sense of moral helplessness and hopelessness, as expressed in Romans vii., was his before his conversion, and prepared him for it. The impotence of the law to make man righteous before God, while pronouncing the condemnation of the sinner, and even by its restraints provoking to sin, had been discovered by him as a Pharisee seeking peace for his soul by entire obedience. The Resurrection, of which the appearance to him brought him absolute certainty, compelled him to recognise Jesus as Messiah, and the confession of the Messiahship made imperative an explanation of the death by crucifixion consistent with the Messianic dignity. In such statements as that what the law could not do because of its weakness, Christ had done (*Romans* viii. 3), or that God made Him who knew no sin to become sin for us (*2 Cor.* v. 21), or that He became a curse (*Gal.* iii 13), we have surely the answer Paul gave to his own questionings regarding the meaning of the Messiah's death. This salvation as apart from the law impotent to save dethroned that law from its authority over the sinner's soul. And with the abrogating of the law for the believer the barrier between Jew and Gentile fell. The pardon of his guilt, and the power of his renewal which Paul had found in living fellowship with Christ belonged to the early days of his experience. There is nothing in the context of his distinctive Gospel, as presented in *Galatians*, *Romans* and *Philippians* iii., which cannot be thus shown as implicit in his conversion and capable of such explication as he has given to it by the resources at his command at the beginning of his career. Before he began his ministry as the Apostle to the Gentiles, he was possessed of the distinctive Gospel that was his impulse to it, and his warrant for it.

(9) An examination of the relevant dates supports this conclusion. Between the conversion and the first missionary journey a period of about fifteen years elapsed ; between the first missionary journey and the final visit to Jerusalem a period of about nine years ; yet during the first period we are asked to believe (in the common assumption of an evolution of Paul's Gospel within the writings we possess) that Paul practically made no advance beyond the common Christian tradition, the eschatological teaching of 1 and 2 *Thessalonians*, whereas during the second he advanced from this position to his distinctive Gospel in *Romans*. Is a man between thirty and forty-five, just after an experience which transformed his whole inner world, more likely to have advanced theologically, or a man between forty-five and fifty-five subject to a constant strain of travel, labour, and service ? Between *Romans* and *Ephesians* only about five years at most can have elapsed, and Paul was then a man over fifty. Can any marked change of theological view at that age in so short a time without any inward crisis which would compel reconsideration of long-held convictions, be regarded as at all probable ? In dealing with Paul's letters we may conclude that we must recognise differences due to his adaptation of his message to local and temporary conditions and necessities, but it is not possible to distinguish successive stages of theological development, or to demonstrate any evolution of his Gospel.

A. E. GARVIE.

THE ODES OF THE LORD'S REST.¹

I. THE PROBLEM OF THEIR ORIGIN.

DISCUSSION of Rendel Harris' great discovery of the *Odes of Solomon* has reached the stage of "second thoughts." Appreciation of the immense importance of the new material to the history of religion in general, and of Christian thought in particular, has not declined. It has rather increased. But appreciation of the exceptional difficulty of assigning to the forty-two hymns their true place in the period of transition from late Jewish to early Christian sentiment has increased concomitantly. We realize that results of far-reaching significance are sure to follow as soon as it can be certainly determined whether in their primitive form (for interpolations are admitted to exist by nearly all critics, including the discoverer himself) the Odes may not be pre-Christian; but even on this fundamental point there seems as yet to be small promise of agreement. Har-nack,² Charles,³ Diettrich,⁴ Spitta⁵ and Staerk⁶ are as positive that the Christian elements are merely redactional in character as Harris,⁷ Barnes,⁸ Haussleiter,⁹ Bernard,¹⁰ Wellhausen¹¹ and Gunkel¹² that they are fundamental.

¹ *Odes of Solomon*, 26. 3.

² *Ein Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1910.

³ *Review of Theol. and Philos.*, Oct., 1910.

⁴ *Reformation*, xix. p. 306.

⁵ *Zts. f. ntl. Wiss.*, xi. 3, pp. 193 ff., and 4, pp. 259 ff.

⁶ *Zts. f. Wiss. Theol.*, lii. pp. 289 ff. (Oct., 1910).

⁷ *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1909.

⁸ *EXPOSITOR*, July, 1910. ⁹ *Theol. Litbl.*, xxxi. No. 12, col. 265-276.

¹⁰ *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, Oct., 1910.

¹¹ *Gott. Gelehrter Anzeigen*, 1910, pp. 629 ff.

¹² *Zts. f. ntl. Wiss.*, xi. 4 (Oct., 1910), pp. 291 ff.

Of all types of literature none afford datable points of contact with known historical events and conditions so few and so elusive as mystical poems of the inner life. None are more exposed to change and adaptation to new conditions and sentiments than "spiritual songs,"¹ especially when unprotected by the standard of canonicity. In the present case both the inherent difficulty of dating, and the probability of alteration from the primitive form, first in process of ritual use, second in process of literary transmission, including translation from Greek to Syriac, if not from Hebrew or Aramaic into Greek as well, approximate the maximum. Gunkel's warning against precipitate verdicts is therefore most timely. Seldom, if ever, have critics, philologists, and students of the history of religion been confronted with a more difficult task—great as are the results to be hoped for—than the exact location in date and literary environment of these deeply spiritual Odes. It is not wholly impossible that the problem may be solved by appeal to particular words, phrases or passages, which may seem to offer clues, linguistic or historical; but such as have hitherto been advanced have proved less convincing than was hoped by their advocates. The opposite method of approach, consideration of the collection as a whole—for apart from redactional additions and textual corruption the Odes are admitted to be the work of a single author—seems now to be the more promising. At least there seems to be justification for utterance on the part of those who are not primarily philologists, and must rely upon scholars better versed in Syriac than themselves where questions of text and translation are involved.²

¹ Ephesians v. 19, *ὁδοὶ πνευματικαί*.

² The present writer desires to express his indebtedness in this respect to Prof. C. C. Torrey of Yale, as Harnack has expressed his to Flemming and Gunkel his to Schulthess and Gressmann. Throughout the present discussion it must be understood that the translation and text of Harris

Approached thus in the large, and subject to all possibilities of subsequent correction from textual and philological discovery, the Odes are capable of affording no small degree of evidence as to their origin, environment and significance in the development of religious thought. Indeed the very fact that some forty religious poems known to date between 50 B.C. and 200 A.D., not written to mystify, but transparently sincere in motive as well as beautiful in expression, can afford to modern scholars the utmost difficulty to determine whether their author were Jew or Christian, is itself very highly significant. It confirms the conclusions to which all modern research into the history of religious ideas in the Hellenistic world has been leading up. The transition from national to universal religions, from pagan mystery-cults to "the mystery of godliness," from eclectic theosophy and quasi-Jewish "piety" to worship of the Galilean Redeemer, in short the change from Judaism and kindred cults to Christianity, was far less abrupt than we have fancied. There were gradations and nuances that time has almost obliterated. There certainly was no "pre-Christian Jesus"; but there was a "Preparatio Evangelica" which students of the history of religion ("comparative religion" is an inadequate term) are teaching us to read in a new light. Even if we fail to decide the question: Christian, or pre-Christian, the *Odes of Solomon* have a vast deal to tell us about the progressive teaching of that Spirit which "spake by the prophets," and whose greatest outpourings came at the meeting-point of Semitic and Aryan religious thought.

The learned and able discoverer of the Odes has anticipated have been compared with those of Barnes, Flemming, Unguad (Unguad und Staerk, *Die Oden Salomos*, 1910), Wellhausen, Schulthess, Bernardt Sprengling (*Am. Journ. of Theol.*, xiv. 4) and Gunkel, so that the writer's very inadequate firsthand knowledge of Syriac may perhaps be regarded as not altogether unfitting him for the particular task in view.

pated reversal of his judgment on some of the minor points of his argument for date and authorship. Since the weighty declaration of Harnack that the problem is insoluble save on the supposition of a Jewish original adapted by interpolation to Christian use, he will not think it strange if even some of the passages on which both he and his opponents have chiefly relied for evidences of date prove illusive. Among these must in our judgment be reckoned Ode 6, with its supposed allusion to "the Temple." To those of Harris' way of thinking Ode 6 gives evidence of Jewish proclivities in a Christian author of Gentile birth. Ode 41. 8 according to Harris is an explanation by the poet of "his position in a Christian community as a Gentile among Jews."¹ According to Harnack all possible permutations of the terms Jew, Christian, Gnostic, proselyte are inadequate to rescue the integrity of the text. But Harnack, too, thinks the reference to "the Temple" in Ode 6 an important datum. The author in his view was a pre-Christian Jew. "The goal of all knowledge of God is attained in men's coming to the temple. Herewith the author's Jewish nationality is proved."² Harris is unquestionably correct in saying: "We must recognise a reference to the waters in Ezekiel which go forth from the temple" (Ezek. xlvii. 1-12). Harnack is also unquestionably right in identifying these "healing streams" as "the knowledge of the Lord." Gunkel confirms and enlarges this view by adding:—

The tradition taken up is that well known to students of the Old Testament, the originally mythological idea of the waters which in the last days issue from the sanctuary: they are properly the waters of the stream of life, which flow forth from Paradise. The poet symbolises in this spirited figure the triumphant progress through the world of the knowledge of God.³

¹ P. 65.

² Note on vi. 8.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 297; cf. Spitta, *Zts. f. ntl. Wiss.*, xi. 3, p. 195.

It is in fact the figure of Ezekiel *as interpreted by Isaiah xi.* 9¹ which gives us the key to his thought. We may transcribe the Ode in Harris' translation, dividing according to strophic construction and parallelismus membrorum, appending variant renderings in footnotes, and placing certain instructive references in the margin :—

ODE 6. THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE LORD AS LIVING WATER.

- i. ¹ As the hand moves over the harp
and the strings speak
- ² So speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord,
and I speak by His love.
- ³ For He ² destroys what is foreign,³
and everything is of the Lord ⁴;
- ⁴ For thus it was from the beginning
and will be unto the end,
That nothing should be His adversary,
and nothing should stand up against Him.

Ode 12. 1-3. Isa. liii. 10.

- ii. ⁵ The Lord has multiplied
the knowledge of Himself,
And is zealous that these things should be known
which by His grace have been given to us.
- ⁶ And the praise of His name He gave us :
our spirits praise His holy spirit.
- iii. ⁷ For a streamlet went forth
and became a river great and broad,
⁸ For it flooded and broke up all
and brought [water(?)] to the Temple.⁵
- ⁹ Neither dikes nor levees could restrain it,⁶
nor the arts of those who build dams.
- ¹⁰ Over the whole earth it spread and filled all ;
and all the thirsty on earth were given to drink of it.
- ¹¹ And thirst was relieved and quenched ;
for from the Most High the draught was given.

¹ "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain : for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

² Or "It."

³ Schulthess would read *אֶל־כָּל־בְּרִית*.

⁴ So the codex. Harris proposes an unwarrantable emendation.

⁵ Coptic : "turned itself to the Temple."

⁶ Following Gressmann-Gunkel.

Isa. xiv. 3.

- iv. ¹² Blessed then are the ministers of that draught
 who are entrusted with that water of His :
¹³ They have assuaged the dry lips,
 and the will that had fainted they have raised up ;
¹⁴ And souls that were near departing
 they have caught back from death ;

Isa. xxxv. 3-7.

- ¹⁵ And limbs that had fallen
 they straightened and set up.
¹⁶ They gave strength to their weakness,
 and light to their eyes :
¹⁷ For every one knew them in (?) the Lord,
 and they lived by the water of life forever. Hallelujah.

But equally unanimous with the appreciation of the figure is the sense of the difficulty created by the words italicised in verse 8. Gunkel rightly objects to the interpretation of his predecessors that the poet does not begin until verse 10*b* ff. with the healing effects of the water of life. Verses 7-9 are concerned with its irrepressible growth. "The Temple" in verse 8*b* is certainly an obstacle ; for in spite of Harnack it is certainly not the "goal" (issue ?) of the stream. The figure demands rather that if the Temple appear at all it should be the *source* of the river of the water of life. A tribute of wreckage from overturned obstacles and drowned victims would hardly be an acceptable offering. But the fact that we feel the word as an obstacle to the sense does not justify us in diverting the poet's stream to sweep it away. Gressmann's proposed emendation (||ביתו לבד||^ו παρήνευκε τὸν ναόν) "it swept away the temple" is a remedy worse than the disease. There is no trace elsewhere in the Odes, even on the most Christian interpretation, of such an iconoclastic spirit. It would be better to have the half verse untranslated than to adopt so violent an expedient.

But Professor Torrey proposes a much simpler explanation, which in addition throws a much needed light upon

the question of the original language of the Odes. We are permitted by his kindness to present it for the first time to the public. The original had simply **וְלֹא אֵיתִי לְהִכְלֹא** (לא) Either by loss or neglect the negative **לֹא** disappeared, leaving for the Greek translator no choice but to render "and brought to the temple" (**וְאֵיתִי לְהִכְלֹא** = *καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν πρὸς τὸν ναόν*). Such is already the rendering followed by the Coptic, as well as by the Syriac, and it has been followed unquestioningly by the modern translators. The true rendering of the passage would have been :—

- ⁸ For it flooded and broke up all,
and there was no holding it in check.
⁹ Neither dikes nor levees could restrain it,
 nor the arts of those who build dams.

Ode 6, accordingly, has for its subject the Living Waters which flow forth from Zion into all the earth. This life-giving stream is the "knowledge of the Lord," as in Isaiah xi. 9. In strophe i. the singer speaks of its effects in his own heart. It impels him to song as a hand sweeping the strings of the lyre. In strophe ii. his personality is merged in that of the community to which he belongs. Their function is the praise of the Lord's name, because they have in a special way been recipients of His favour, and it is His desire that the knowledge of this should be spread abroad. They are His "witnesses." Their function is that of the servant of Deutero-Isaiah, who in Isaiah xliii. 10 to xliv. 5 is Yahweh's witness to the peoples, through whom they receive the living water and become members by adoption of Yahweh's people.¹ We shall have later to consider whether "the prophet speaketh this of himself or of some other."

¹ Cf. Ode 26. 13 f. Those who know the Lord and stand in His Rest make this their song; and their song becomes "like a river which has a copious fountain, and flows to the help of them that seek it." Cf. also the message of the "priest of the Lord" in Ode 20, and its effect in 17. 12-14, and 10. 1-8.

In the meantime it is well to observe that this missionary calling of the community which the poet represents is one of the constant and distinctive features of the Odes. Thus Ode 12 combines the Isaian figure of the knowledge of God as living water with those of Psalm xix., His Word in nature and in man :—

ODE 12. TRUTH AND LIGHT AS THE WORD OF THE LORD.

ii. ¹He hath filled me with words of truth ;
in order that I may speak the same.

²And like the flow of waters flows truth from my mouth,
and my lips show forth His fruit.

Odes 8. 1-3, 14. 7, 16. 3. Cf. Isa. lvii. 19.

And He has caused the knowledge of Him to abound in me
because the mouth of the Lord is the true Word and the
door of His Light.

Strophe iii. deals, as we have seen, with the irresistible power of the healing stream given by the Most High, while strophe iv. returns to those entrusted with the ministration of it (cf. Rom. iii. 2), congratulating them on their mission of enlightenment and philanthropy.

But if the supposed reference to the Temple in Ode 6 thus disappears, submerged in the general concept so characteristic of the Odists of a mission to spread the saving "knowledge of the Lord" over all the earth, the supposed reference in Ode 4, whether to the temple in Jerusalem (Harris, Spitta) or that in Leontopolis (Harnack), is at least equally elusive.

ODE 4. THE CHANGELESS ELECTION OF GOD.

i. ¹No man, O my God, changeth Thy holy place ;
²and there is none that could change it
or set it in another place,

Because he lacketh the power.

³For Thou didst design thy Sanctuary before the creation of places ;

⁴the elder place shall not be changed by those that are younger.

ii. ⁵Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers :
never wilt thou fail, nor be without fruits :

⁶For a single hour of thy faith is more precious than all days and years.

Isa. xi. 9. Odes 13, 15. 8, 20. 7.

⁷For who is there that shall put on thy grace and be hurt ?

For thy seal is known, and thy creatures know it :

And thy [heavenly] hosts possess it :

and the elect archangels are clad with it.

iii. Thou hast given us thy fellowship :

it was not that thou wast in need of us

but that we are in need of thee.

Ode 30.

Distil thy dews upon us,

and open upon us thy rich fountains

that pour forth to us milk and honey.

iv. For there is no repentance with thee

that thou shouldst repent of aught thou didst promise,

And the end was revealed before thee :

for what thou gavest thou gavest freely :

So that thou mayest not draw them back and take them again,

for all was revealed before thee as God,

and ordered from the beginning before thee.

And thou, O God, hast made all things. Hallelujah.

Tempting as it may be to find a "historical allusion" in the opening strophe of this Ode we must demur to Harnack's positive assurance that "Harris is right in taking the reference to be to the temple in Jerusalem."¹ No structure built with hands enters the poet's mind ; otherwise he could not say (to adopt Harris' translation) "Thy sanctuary thou hast² designed before thou didst make other places" (τόπους). On the other hand Gunkel goes much too far in denying any earthly basis or geographical location to this "sanctuary."² It may be true that the word τόπος is employed by the Gnostic writers of "superterrestrial regions" ; but the promised "milk and honey" for which our Odist prays in verse 10, while employed in a symbolic sense (cf. Ode 30) are still the milk and honey of the Promised

¹ Note *ibid.* p. 29.

² P. 296 f.

Land. The dews which distil upon God's chosen are primarily the fertilising dews of Palestine. A little more careful attention to the very passages quoted by Harris from *Pirge Aboth* would have made this perfectly apparent; for when Exodus xv. 17 and Psalm lxxviii. 54 are quoted in proof that "the Sanctuary" is a pre-existent "own possession" of God, it is perfectly obvious that it is not the Temple that is meant, but the mountain range of Judaea, the land flowing with milk and honey, the place of Yahweh's own dwelling which He promised to give to Israel's forefathers, and into which He brought them to dwell in His presence.

The Sanctuary: whence [is it proved a possession of God]? Because it is written, The place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established (Exod. xv. 17): and He brought them to the border of His Sanctuary, even to this mountain (range), which His right hand had possessed (Ps. lxxviii. 54).

In neither quotation is there any reference to the Temple. Both refer to the bringing of Israel into the promised land of Yahweh's rest. This "holy hill" is that of Psalm xv. 1, where none are admitted to "dwell" with Yahweh save such as have "clean hands and a pure heart." To "abide in Yahweh's tabernacle" there is not to live in the visible temple but to become tent-guests in His territory. The "holy mountain" of Yahweh is spoken of similarly in the Isaian passage we have already had occasion to refer to as in the Odists' mind. Even the wild beasts there will become like lambs, says the prophet, in the Messianic time. "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain."¹ The argument of *Pirge Aboth* vi. 10 is directed to proving that God designed this "mountain" for himself to dwell in before He made the other lands, just as the navel of creation and the tomb of Adam are still shown in the Church of the Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The

¹ Isa. xi. 9.

Odist thinks of the divine election as a foreordaining choice of land and people together. Like Ode 26 this too is one of the "Songs of the Lord's Rest," the Rest (i.e. resting-place) to which Israel was led up through the wilderness, as the shepherd leads his flock across the desert to the oases. Ode 22. 12 expresses a similar thought:—

That the foundation of everything (in the renewed creation) might
be thy rock,
And on it thou didst build thy Kingdom.

Ps. xc. 1.

And thou wast the dwelling-place of the saints. Hallelujah.

He thinks of it, like the seer of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*,¹ as Paradise restored, a regained Garden of Eden whose chief blessing is the companionship of the Highest; it is to him as to the author of Hebrews "a rest that remaineth to the people of God," a rest of His into which they "enter." But it is not, as to the New Testament author, a super-terrestrial region. It is not as in *Ep. Barn.* vi. 10 a "renewed earth." It is not subdivided into three as in the exposition of Matthew xiii. 9 reported by Papias² from "the elders the disciples of the apostles," where, though "in every place the Saviour shall be seen," there is a highest realm of "heaven," a lower of "paradise" and a lowest of "the City."³ To the Odist the paradise of "the Lord's Rest" is still the land flowing with "milk and honey" and watered with the "dew" of heaven (ver. 10; cf. Deut. xi. 9-11). It is the "holy mountain" of Isaiah xi. 9, where even the wild beasts have ceased to ravin, and have learned to respect the image of God, as promised in Genesis ix. 5 (ver. 8). It is the "Promised" land; and because the

¹ iv. 2-6.

² Reported by Irenaeus, *Her.* v., xxxvi. 1 f. Lightfoot, *Harmer*, xvii.

³ *Apoc. Baruch*, v. 2-6, has the same doctrine of Paradise and the City. Papias' "elders" coincide again with *Apoc. Baruch* xxix. 5 in the fragment preserved in Iren. *Her.* v., xxxiii. 3 f. (xiv. in Lightfoot, *Harmer*).

promise was with foreknowledge it is inalienable (ver. 11-14). Here the Odist aspires, like the Psalmist, to "dwell in the house of the Lord forever," because "in His presence there is fulness of joy forevermore" (ver. 9). But it is not super-terrestrial. It is Palestine. It is idealised, metamorphosed, even as those who have "put on the Lord's grace" to inhabit it are glorified into the divine image like the elect archangels. Of this transfiguration of the redeemed we hear more in Odes 8. 16, 17. 4, 6, 20. 7. The gradual transition of later Judaism from a restoration of the *national* life in perpetual felicity in Yahweh's Rest (Ezek. xxxvii. 1-14; Isa. xxvi. 16-19, *Shemoneh Esreh* ii.) to *individual* resurrection (Dan. xii. 2 f.; *Eth Enoch*, II Esdras, *Apoc. Baruch* passim) is here complete. We have the full Pharisean doctrine of the resurrection body and the "age to come." But the Odist's metamorphosis of the land is less transcendental than the apocalyptic New Jerusalem of Ezekiel or that of the Revelation of John. It is the land which the Creator chose to put His name there, designing it before the other lands which He made. Its "memorial" therefore is "older" than other lands. It is a chosen land, as its inhabitants are a chosen people. Alongside this exultation in the land where the Lord chose to dwell should be placed that of Ode 28. 14-18 on the elect and their "memorial."

II Esdr. vi. 57-59.

¹⁴ And I did not perish, for I was not their brother,
neither was my birth like theirs.

¹⁵ And they sought for my death and did not find it :
for I was *older than the memorial of them*.

¹⁶ And vainly did they assail me and those who came after me,
¹ Vainly they sought to destroy *the memorial of him who was before them* :

¹⁷ For the thought of the Most High cannot be forestalled :
and His mind is superior to all wisdom. Hallelujah.

There is much then in Ode 4 to justify the comment of

¹ Harris, margin ; Spitta.

Harris (p. 92): "It is not easy to see how it could have been written outside Palestine." Indeed it is not in this Ode alone, but repeatedly, as in Ode 11. 11-13, 26. 7, 35. 1-6, 36. 6 f., 40. 4 f., that the poet delights in figures of the mountain land, whose hill-tops pierce the clouds, their flanks streaming with fertilising showers. Its fountains pour down into the valleys (Ode 30), torrential floods sweep the unwary from their feet (39. 1-4), while all fertility and blessing are from the dew and rain upon the mountains, or the springs which gush from the rock (11. 5-7, 11-16). Were it determined that Greek and not Aramaic or Hebrew was the original language of the Odes,¹ there is much in the external attestation to commend Egypt as the place of origin. But so far as the evidence of imagery and atmosphere is concerned no country of the world is so ill adapted as the rainless, torrentless, alluvial valley of the Nile, with its border of low desert cliffs.²

But from Harris' further remark that it is also not easy to see how this Ode could come from "a purely Jewish hand" we must emphatically dissent. On the contrary we can find nothing that goes beyond the expectations of later Judaism.

The *Apocalypse of Baruch*, e.g., anticipates a similar glorification of both land and people.³ Rather is it difficult to conceive a Christian hand, of however Jewish type, so completely uninfluenced by the universalising tendencies which

¹ Professor Torrey cites besides the probable translation error of Ode 6. 8 another possible one in verse 9. Schmidt's translation of the Coptic has here *aedificatio*, where the Syriac has *sons* (of men); suggesting confusion with some derivative of the word בָּנָה "build" (perhaps בְּנֵי־בָנִים confused with בְּנֵי־בָנִים). This would necessitate the theory of two Greek translations from the Aramaic.

² This imagery is so largely dependent on the Old Testament as to make inferences precarious.

³ With Ode 4, 8 cf. *Apoc. Bar.* li. 10, with Ode 4. 9-14 cf. *Apoc. Bar.* iv. 2-6.

from the very earliest times (Acts vii. 5-16)¹ more and more delocalised the Christian conception of the inheritance.

Thus far we have done little more than indicate the illusive character of the supposed "historical allusions" of the Odes. As Sprengling remarks, "The problem hinges largely on Odes 4 and 6." Harris, Haussleiter and Harnack all seem to agree to this opinion. But we can find no "allusions" here. So far as others have been discerned in individual phrases they are even more untrustworthy. Notably is this the case with supposed references to the gospel narrative. Ode 39. 6-10 has no reference whatever to the incident of the Lake of Gennesaret, but repeats the classic theme of the passage through the Red Sea.² As in Psalms cvi. 8-12, cxiv. 3, 5, *Ps. Sol.* 6. 5, the Odist's model is the "Song of Moses" (Exod. xv. 1-18). Again, Ode 24. 1 is utterly unintelligible. If it really contains a reference to the baptism of Jesus it can serve to date nothing but itself, for independently it would lie under strong suspicion of having been affected by that Christianising editorial revision which has admittedly left its impress upon the Odes.

Preliminary study of mere individual phrases having thus proved unfruitful of convincing results, it remains to apply the alternative method to the determination of the primary question. First of all we need to know to what age, environment, stream and development of religious ideas the Odes must be assigned. To determine this we must make more careful definition of their general character, nature and purpose. In substance they form a literary unit. Their discoverer presents a list which might easily

¹ See the writer's article "Stephen's Speech" in the volume of Contributions.

² Note especially ver. 10: "The waves were lifted up on this side and on that," and cf. Isa. xliii. 2. Exod. xiv. 21, 26f., Jos. 3. 8 ff.

be increased of more or less constantly recurring conceptions and expressions. We must carry the process further and deeper. The lesser must be subordinated to the larger and more fundamental, until we have identified in true perspective the thought-world of the poet. Particularly must we study his doctrines of resurrection, sonship and the world to come. The task is less difficult than might appear. His ideas, while clothed in beautiful form, range over a very limited field; and the symbolism is for the most part inherited. He has *one* theme: Redemption. He sings "to one clear harp in divers tones." As Harris observes, "There is not a note of sadness from beginning to end." There are certain great, vitalising root-ideas which ramify throughout the series, and frequently bind together in subordinate groups a number of successive poems. A really competent judgment on the difficult question of authenticity or interpolation must be based on adequate study of these root-ideas. But this is not all. Once we have clearly in mind the Odist's conception of the Redemption, we shall know where to place him. The question of Christian or pre-Christian is indeed far more difficult, even after settlement of questions of text and translation, than the average reader can imagine. Significantly so. The average reader knows but little of the idea of the Redemption in the forms it assumes after the great poems of the Restoration in Deutero-Isaiah. He knows but little of the development in the Wisdom of Solomon of the doctrine of sonship and immortality, little of the doctrine of Israel as Yahweh's Beloved, the priest-nation, "scattered among the Gentiles that it might do good to the Gentiles,"¹ teaching them the knowledge of the Lord, made "sons" by the spirit of love and obedience as in *Jubilees*.² He knows little of the greater

¹ *Apoc. Bar.*, i. 4.

² Cf. *Jub.* i. 24-26.

redemption as a deliverance from Sheol, a return from the underworld, clothed upon with a glorified body, to a new world "wherein dwelleth righteousness" of the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and kindred writings. Knowing these conceptions only in their Christian form he finds it hard to appreciate the doubt and hesitation of the critics.

Yet this is the true problem, and, for the present at least, the most promising line of approach. Baentsch is justified in placing the burden of proof on the opponents of a pre-Christian (or at least Jewish) origin, on the ground that the whole history of the early currency of the Odes shows that they were so regarded wherever received in the Church. There is not the slightest attempt on the Odists' part to sail under false colours. We are not dealing with pseud-epigraphy. In good faith an Egyptian Christian of *ca.* 200 A.D. quotes them as utterances of "thy servant Solomon." Similar Jewish writings of the later periods like the *Psalms of Solomon* with which our Odes are associated in transmission, or the still later *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, were disowned by the Synagogue in the period of anti-Christian reaction following the revolt of Bar Cocheba (135 A.D.) along with the current Greek version of the Old Testament and certain other quasi-canonical material relied upon by the Church as "prophecy."¹ It is no rarity to find Jewish writings surviving to us only in the penumbra of semi-canoncity in the Church, disowned by the Synagogue because too late of origin to secure a footing in its canon, and greatly altered through the mutilation and interpolation to which they were thus exposed. In view of the absence of any mention of the name or teaching of Jesus, or any trustworthy reference to any specifically Christian practice or belief, or event of evangelic tradition, "gift of the Spirit" or "powers of the age to come," the prima

¹ Cf. Justin Martyr, *Dial.* lxxi.-lxxiii.

facie case for pre-Christian origin is a strong one. Harnack considers the analytical argument presented by himself still stronger. All his endeavours to fix upon some type of second-century Christian combining the diverse characteristics of the Odes proved futile. Some of the Christian elements on the other hand were admittedly spurious, others showed the marks of interpolation. One in particular (iii. 9) was so manifestly contradictory to its own context that Harnack could say: "The proof is in my judgment conclusive."¹ But we may admit the interpolation—Baentsch is probably right in reducing that of iii. 9 to the single word "the Son"²—without granting the inference. Other critics and philologists of the highest standing pronounce the Odes as a whole to be Christian after all reasonable discounts are made on the score of interpolation.

The question is difficult but not insoluble. It has reached the stage where not the philologist only, but the literary critic and historian of religious ideas must be appealed to. It will be our endeavour in the succeeding articles to present certain considerations based on the method outlined above. We shall at least be turning the new material to good account if we direct our efforts toward an appreciation of the poet's fundamental and dominant ideas. It may be possible when we have brought them into comparison with kindred utterances of the time, canonical and extra-canonical, to determine whether they are rooted in Jewish or in Christian soil.

BENJAMIN W. BACON.

¹ *Der Beweis ist m. E. stringent*, p. 28.

² "Because I love Him—the Son—I shall be a son."

DR. JOHANN LEPSIUS ON THE SYMBOLIC LANGUAGE OF THE REVELATION.

A. INTRODUCTION (*continued*).

As Dr. Lepsius remarks (see p. 169), the numbers seven and twelve appear to rule the whole world of symbolism in the Apocalypse. It is not to be supposed that John made the number seven so important in his book merely because there were seven planets. He did not arbitrarily choose out seven from among all the churches of Asia as representatives of the whole body of congregations in order to suit an astronomical law, any more than he made the number twelve rule in his visions simply because there were twelve hours in the day (from sunrise to sunset) and twelve months in the year. The cause of the dominance of these two numbers in the Apocalypse lay in the fact that these numbers were dominant in history, as John saw it. Twelve rules the Revelation because there were twelve tribes in the historic Israel, and hence the true Israel, the Church of God, dispersed among the nations, likewise was imagined by him as containing twelve tribes.¹ Similarly there must have been seven central or representative congregations and cities in the entire Asian Church ; and John wrote to those seven, because they were already recognised in the arrangements and the economy of the Province as a Christian unity.² How these seven came to be in this prominent position as centres of seven groups, is not recorded in history ; but a theory to explain the origin and character of this sevenfold division has been proposed in the present writer's book on *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia* ; and that theory appears to

¹ Compare the opening verse of the Epistle of James.

² The Church followed the political division of the Empire into Provinces from the beginning onwards, as the "South-Galatian" view maintains.

him to be simply a statement and classification of the probable or certain facts of the situation.

What, then, is the relation between this historico-geographical fact of Asian Church organisation and the astronomical importance of the number seven, on which Dr. Lepsius lays so much stress? According to the present writer's view, the fact as observed in the Asian Church seemed to John in his Apocalyptic vision and scheme to be an example of the correspondence between things in heaven and things on earth, between the Divine model or prototype and the earthly fact.¹ This correspondence was carried out by him in detail. The number seven rules largely in Heaven, as it opened itself to the eye of John. He saw there seven planets and seven candlesticks and the seven Spirits before the throne of God: even the Spirit exerts its power in a sevenfold activity corresponding to the sevenfold nature of the Church on earth and the sevenfold planetary movement.

John saw no inconsistency between this sevenfold nature of the Church and the twelvefold division of the same Church as the Diaspora, scattered among the nations, the true Israel in its twelve tribes. His mind passes freely from one to the other. Sometimes the one division rules in the Apocalypse, sometimes the other. Both are true, because both are envisagements of heavenly truth in human history. It is only the pragmatistical and narrowly logical Western mind that sees any discrepancy or inconsistency between two different correspondences of earthly facts to celestial prototypes. The Oriental vision of John was conscious of no discrepancy. Both correspondences were equally true.

Nor did John set any store by the fact that the seven

¹ On this correspondence see above, p. 163.

Churches belong only to a system of dividing and organising the Province Asia, while the Twelve Tribes of the Dispersion constitute the entire Church over the whole world (or the whole Roman world). The Oriental mind passes easily and lightly from the one to the other point of view, and finds both equally true and illuminating.

Now since the seven Churches of Asia correspond to the celestial fact of the seven planets, this correspondence has to be carried out in each case. A Church corresponds to each planet; and the history and nature of each Church, the innate power which rules its past and its future, must be expressed in terms suitable to the corresponding celestial fact, viz., the character of the planet which is the celestial counterpart of that individual Church (according to the accepted astrological or astronomical view of the nature and character of the various planets). Yet under this astrological language there lie in each case real facts concerning the earthly cities and Churches.

Since reading Dr. Lepsius's discussion of this subject, the present writer has become far more clearly conscious of the astrological colouring which often lies on the surface of ancient expression. People had in their mind this idea of a correspondence between celestial and terrestrial facts, and it gave tone to their expression of their thoughts and perceptions of truth. Every man had his star and his angel, his better and true self: just as to Statius (writing also, like John, under Domitian) every Emperor had his own special star, and the Flavian heaven was a sort of celestial expression for the Flavian dynasty. It would be, however, a great error if the reader saw only the astrological colouring, and did not perceive under it the real facts of life and history which are expressed in celestial analogies and astronomical or astrological terms.

Especially where an ancient writer is treating the more

mysterious and unknowable relations of human life, such as death, birth, the relation of man to God, the rewards and punishments that await him in another world or another life, the astrological colouring generally becomes stronger, and often gives a sort of mythological and fanciful tone to the attempt to explain those deeper aspects of nature. Plato is the most typical example of a philosopher, who generally moves out of the realm of strict philosophy into that of astrology and mythology, whenever he attempts to envisage to his readers those deeper truths and relations of human life. The tale of Er, son of Armenius, in the last book of the *Republic*, is a typical example in both ways: it is mythological; it is astronomical; and it is confessedly and professedly a device to suggest through an apologue of fanciful character thoughts which touched the deepest things of human and divine nature.

It was Plato's literary instinct that was largely influential in causing this result. To treat those subjects philosophically required a great increase in the number of abstract nouns and technical philosophical terms, and Plato refused to adulterate the Greek language by a wholesale creation of new words. He aimed at expressing the thoughts of philosophy in the existing Greek speech, which was concrete in its outlook and utterance. Philosophy, however, had to create for itself an abstract terminology; and Greek philosophy was engaged in this task during the centuries that followed after the time of Plato.

It was, further, not merely the want of abstract philosophical words that drove Plato to express his thought in a mythological and astronomical form. His point of view was still very concrete; and he had not yet disengaged the elements of thought from their union in the actual facts of the world, or, rather, in the dominant and customary way of regarding the facts of the world. His whole doctrine of

“ Ideas ” is influenced by the customary point of view : there must be some definite thing, existing apart by itself and for itself, corresponding to every noun, even an abstract noun ; and, if you have the abstract noun “ goodness,” you must have an “ Idea of goodness ” somewhere existent in the universe to give a real counterpart and real basis for “ goodness.” Now obviously this “ Idea of goodness ” does not exist by itself and for itself in the material world as seen and felt by human beings. It can, therefore, exist only in the celestial and astronomical world, somewhere in the higher sphere of being which may be called by the name “ heavenly ” ; and this divine and imperishable and absolutely real “ Idea of goodness ” gives basis and a certain reality to the “ goodness ” which is found in the life of the lower world only mixed up as a quality of the things belonging to this lower and less true world.

Thus Plato’s way of expressing his philosophy is to a certain degree moulded by the traditional custom, to which he was heir, of expressing thoughts about the things of earth on the model of the things of heaven, which are assumed to be their prototypes. That was the point of view involved in early religion ; and from this point of view astrology degenerated into an art of money-getting and imposture.

Greek philosophy released itself to a great extent from the influence of that traditional custom in the interval between Plato and Paul. The Hebrews, however, remained under its influence during that period, and Apocalypse was a favourite Hebrew form of composition. Paul has once composed an Apocalypse, viz., in parts of Thess., showing that he was acquainted with the Hebrew Apocalyptic literature ; but his whole writing and point of view show how little he was permanently influenced by it, and how much he stood above it and apart from it. The concluding Part VII. of

the present writer's *Cities of Saint Paul* was intended to express this principle at greater length and more clearly, viz., that Paul has written Apocalyptically, but that his regular manner is philosophic, not Apocalyptic.

Dr. Lepsius has prefixed to his articles (which have not yet been completed) a translation of the parts of the Revelation treated by him. He regards the passage x. 1-xi. 13 as an intrusion, separating the seventh from the first six trumpets, and even actually breaking up the sixth trumpet, to which xi. 14 belongs. The seventh trumpet he considers to begin with xi. 15.

He also regards chapter vii. as an intrusion; and he will in the sequel essay to prove that it belongs to the trumpets, and has been misplaced in the transmission of the text.

He also considers that the texts of the sixth and the seventh seals have been interchanged.

To the allusion made by Dr. Lepsius below to the cosmological character of the Sufitic Dervish ritual, I should like to add that even among the Mevlevi Dervishes, who are of the Sunni Moslems (though they are not strictly orthodox Sunni), their ritual dance seemed to us to represent the movements of the planets in the heavens, "still choiring to the young-eyed cherubims." It was at Afion-Kara-Hissar in 1884 that we had the opportunity of seeing this dance in its full splendour and with the full musical accompaniment. Even at Konia, the chief seat of this sect, the presentations of the dance-ceremony that we have seen fell far short in ceremonial dignity. The dance was performed at Kara-Hissar in its most complete form as a special compliment to my wife by order of the Sheikhs (the ruling family of the Order); and the thought occurred to us after the conclusion that the ritual, which represented an ordered motion round a central point, was planetary. See the full description given of this dance (the only description I have ever seen

that gives the really important facts about this rite) in Lady Ramsay's *Everyday Life in Turkey*, pp. 271-6. As we saw it, four dancers revolved in the middle and ten circled around the four; each of the fourteen had a double motion, revolving round his own axis and round the central point of the entire dance. All the performers wore richly coloured garments, each in one hue, green, blue, saffron, crimson, olive, violet.

W. M. RAMSAY.

E. THE LETTERS TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

IV. *Thyatira*.

THE Star of the Church of Thyatira is, as is clearly shown in ii. 28 ("I will give him the morning star"), the planet Venus, in Aramaic Noga, the shining one. According to the order of the planets we might expect to find here the planet of the fourth heaven, the Sun. When we come to the angels of the seven trumpets and the seven plagues we find the Sun correctly in the fourth place (viii. 12 and xvi. 8). But here, as we already remarked, the Sun (as the angel of the congregation of Laodicea) is placed last in order, because the geographical situation of the congregations partly determined the course of the circular letter. Venus or the morning star, whose angel, Anael, is also the angel of the sixth day (Friday, Vendredi), is the planet of the third heaven.

The planet Venus was regarded by all the ancient peoples as the star of love, and was usually represented as a goddess (Istar, Atergatis, Astarte, Aphrodite). Dante indeed finds fault with the dangerous opinion of the ancient world,

"That the fair Cypris radiated amorous madness
beneath her, as she revolved in the third epicycle"
(*Paradiso*, canto, 8, 2 f.);

and represents the blessed whom he finds there as having fled from the storm of earthly love to live thenceforward in the star of heavenly love. Thus he represents Rahab the harlot (Joshua ii.) as having been brought to this heaven by the triumphal procession of Christ: and he meets the wanton Cunizza, whose sins God forgave, in this star, "because the light of this star once conquered her." See *Paradiso*, 9, 115-126. The Church of Thyatira, on the other hand, he accuses of adultery.¹

In the message to the Church in Thyatira the ardent love of the Son of God is represented by the eyes which are like unto a flame of fire. Love is named first among the virtues of the true members of this community (and only in the case of this community); on the other hand vehement reproaches and threats are used against the adulterous prophetess of Thyatira, Jezebel, and her paramours.¹ Thus here, as in Dante, holy and unholy love are attributed to the influence of the same star, Venus.

The promise which is made to the victor among the community of Thyatira brings it into distinct connexion with the planet Venus by the words, "I will give him the morning star." This connexion holds good, even if, according to the ingenious explanation of Dr. Alfred Jeremias, we must interpret "the morning star" in analogy with the "rod of iron" mentioned in the preceding clause, and understand it to be the weapon which was still in use at the time of the Peasant Wars as the weapon of freedom, and which went by the name of "morning-star"; for already amongst the Babylonians this weapon was known as the weapon of Istar (Venus). It is remarkable that just to this community which was ruled by the star of Venus should be assigned the Messianic promise of Psalm ii. 8-9: "Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine

[¹ I understand Rev. ii. 22 differently: see my *Letters*, etc.—W.M.R.]

inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel," a promise which in Revelation xix. 15, as in Psalm ii., refers to the Messiah, but here, and probably in xii. 5 also, is extended to the victorious community. Further, the designation "the Son of God" at the beginning of the message points to the Messianic promise at the end.

V. Sardis.

The angel who presides over the community of Sardis is Michael, the angel of the second heaven. His planet is Mercury, in Aramaic Kokab. Mercury, in Greek Hermes, is, like the Babylonian Nebo and the Egyptian Thoth, the god of wisdom and prophecy, the herald of the gods, the inventor of writing and the art of writing on tablets. He is the scribe among the gods and keeps the heavenly books. Therefore in the message to the angel of the second heaven the attribute of wisdom and prophetic knowledge is ascribed to the Son of Man ("he hath the seven spirits of God"). The Son of Man has entered into the rights of the scribe-angel. Henceforth the heavenly books are kept in His name ("and I will not blot his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father and before His angels"). It is he also who distributes the "white raiment." For the scribe-angel in Ezekiel ix. 2, who has the writing materials at his side, is "clothed with linen." He puts a mark on the forehead of the righteous in Israel, who are to be saved from the judgment. Another remarkable feature is that Hermes-Mercury, is the god of thieves, and this gives point to the threat, "If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief."

In the second heaven, the realm of Mercury, Dante

receives from the blessed who inhabit this sphere the gift of understanding, and he now no longer sees the divine secrets with his own perceptions, but in the light which radiates from the entire heaven. As the representative of heavenly wisdom there appears to him the soul of Justinian, who made the great Lawbook and who "under the influence of the highest love," as Dante supposes, reformed Roman law. Dante here substitutes for the heavenly books the Book of the Civil Law, according to which reward and punishment are proportioned to deserts. In virtue of the illumination which the poet receives in this sphere, his theological difficulties also are explained to him.

In the Talmund treatise Schabbath (Levy ii. 304) the saying occurs: "Whoever is born under the dominion of Kokab (Mercury) will have a good memory and be wise, for he (Kokab-Mercury) is the scribe of the sun."

VI. *Philadelphia.*

The angel of the community in Philadelphia is the archangel Gabriel, the angel of the moon. The sphere of the moon is the first of the seven heavens. In the seven-gated heavenly stair the gate of the moon is the first, which must be passed in order to reach the higher celestial spheres. On this account the angel of the moon is the gate-keeper of heaven. He has the keys of heaven with which "he that is holy, he that is true," opens or shuts the heavens. In the palace of Solomon, the house of David, the temple-house was approached through seven pylons; the east gate of the palace and the holy place was the door of entrance; the steward of the house of David had the keys of it, Isaiah xxii. 22. Whoever enters the door of the first heaven has crossed the threshold of the holy place and has become a citizen of the celestial city. The name of the city of God, the new Jerusalem, is written upon him,

and he receives the promise that he shall be made as much a part of the holy place as one of the pillars which support the halls of the temple. This symbolic promise is put to the test in the temptations of the community on earth. The Lord will keep the overcomers in the hour of temptation, as they themselves kept the word and example of Jesus. The community of Philadelphia has only "a little strength." The moon is "the little light" compared with the great light of the sun.

Dante also, in his journey through Paradise, enters first the sphere of the moon. The knowledge of the sphere of the moon is philosophy, which however has not the power to give those who possess it the divine enlightenment that is reserved for the sphere of the sun. According to this view the "little strength" would be philosophy, an explanation which would not be agreeable to our Pietists, who like to regard themselves as belonging to the community of Philadelphia.

VII. Laodicea.

The angel of the community in Laodicea is the angel of the sun, Raphael. In Dante the sun reigns in the fourth heaven, outshining all the planets with its brilliance and splendour,

"The greatest creator in Nature, which has impregnated the world with heavenly strength, and measures time for us with its light."

"And Beatrice began: 'Thank the Angel-sun who by his favour has raised thee to this perceptible.'" (*Paradiso*, x. 28-30, 52-54.)

The admonitions addressed to the community of Laodicea also point to the sun. The strength of the sun lives in the gold that is tried in the fire. Sunlight is eye-salve, which makes the blind see. From sunbeams is woven the raiment

of the just which shall shine "like the sun in their Father's kingdom."

The sun, as "the faithful and true witness," brings everything into the light. It is "the beginning of the creation of God" and the "amen" to all His promises.

"Looking upon His Son with the love which all alike perpetually breathe, He created the first ineffable good as far as mind or eye can discern." (*Paradiso*, x. 1-3.)

Just as the entire cosmos is the throne of the heavenly Father, so the sun is the throne of the Son of Man. Therefore the community of Laodicea receives the promise:

"To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me on my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father on His throne."

Amongst the seven pylons of the temple of Solomon, the middle one, the throne-room in which the throne of Solomon stood, corresponded to the sun. To pass from the palace into the temple it was necessary to open the door of the throne-room. It was here that the king ate bread before Jehovah. Hence the promise:

"If any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me."

F. THE VISIONS.

After John has received the command to write to the seven communities, he is caught up into heaven in a state of ecstasy. What he sees and experiences there he describes in a series of three times seven visions. The heavenly scene in which these visions take place is not a heaven beyond this universe, but the firmament which rears itself in visible splendour above the earth. The God of this revelation does not dwell in another world; but the fir-

mament itself is His temple, and the entire cosmos is His throne. The symbolical language in which John describes the cosmos is the speech of the ancient astrology. It was known to the communities of Asia Minor, for the same cosmological symbolism lay at the foundation of the cults of all ancient religions, just as it was also at the basis of the Old Testament ritual. Possibly it was known to the communities of Asia more especially from the cult of Mithras.¹ In the mysteries of this cult, as nowadays in those of the sufistic dervish orders of Islam, the devotee was led through seven degrees of consecration up the ladder with the seven steps of the seven planet-heavens into the eighth heaven (the heaven of the fixed stars), above which the throne of God is reared. In the cult of Mithras the ladder of the seven heavens was named "the seven-gated ladder" (*κλίμαξ ἑπτάπυλος*).²

After the same fashion in the Visions of the Revelation also a door is opened in heaven, and John is called up thither. He now is standing, as it were, at the gate of the first celestial degree (the heaven of the moon), and gazes up from thence over the further planet degrees into the cosmic temple of heaven.

In the first place John now describes the cosmic temple of God. In the midst of the cosmos he sees the throne of God, and Him that sits thereon. A rainbow, as symbol of eternal grace, is round about the throne. The throne itself is upheld by the four beasts (*zoa*) the representatives of the zodiac or circle of beasts, the circle which is de-

¹ [This is very improbable, and quite unnecessary. There is no evidence, and no probability, that Mithras-worship affected much the country of the Seven Asian Churches; and during the first century one can assert with practical certainty that it was very little known there. But, as Dr. Lepsius says, cosmological symbolism was sufficiently known there from other religious sources.—W. M. R.]

² Compare the ladder of Jacob, Genesis xxviii. 12.

scribed in the heavens by the sun in its course, i.e. the ecliptic. The zodiac, which we nowadays, in common with the entire ancient astrology, still call after the "beasts" (*zoo*), is symbolically represented in the vision of John by the four "beasts," or Cherubim: that is, by the four constellations which mark, according to the four quarters of the universe, the spring equinox, the summer solstice, the autumn equinox and the winter solstice. We have almost the same names as Ezekiel (chap. i.) and John for these constellations of the zodiac: Lion, Ox, Water-carrier,¹ Scorpion.²

In the hieratic arrangement of the people of Israel the twelve signs of the zodiac were allotted to the twelve tribes, according to the word which was spoken to Abraham ("I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven"). The same idea underlies Jacob's blessing.³ This symbolism was known to Josephus, for he remarks in his description of the temple that the twelve showbreads, which we know as symbols of the twelve tribes of Israel, signify the zodiac (with its twelve signs).⁴

The same symbolism of the twelve signs of the zodiac underlies the description which the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan (Aramaic translation of the five books of Moses) gives of the camp of Israel in the wilderness. There the

¹ In John and Ezekiel: Man; among the Romans: *aquarius* or *juvenis*; in the Targum of Jonathan, fourth book of Moses ii. 18: youth.

² In John and Ezekiel: eagle; in the Targum of Jonathan fourth book of Moses ii. 25: basilisk. The fundamental Babylonian zodiacal sign, which, like the fabulous basilisk, is a *mixtum compositum* of bird and snake with a scorpion's sting on its tail, and is to be found beside the lion and the ox among the reliefs on the Istar gate at Babel (compare the figure in Fr. Delitzsch's second lecture on *Babel und Bibel*, p. 13).

³ Compare Lepsius "Der Segen Jakobs und der Tierkreis" in *Reich Christi*, 1903, p. 375.

⁴ "The seven lamps, for so many were upon the candlestick, signified the seven planets, while the twelve breads on the table, signified the zodiac and the year. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* v. 5, 5.

arrangement of the tribes, which are camped round the tabernacle in the form of a wheel with twelve spokes (a Gilgal), is brought into connexion with the symbolism of the zodiac. The camp is arranged according to the four cardinal points of the zodiac, to which the emblems of the four principal tribes correspond :

Judah, Lion, East (vernal equinox).

Ruben, Ox, South (summer solstice).

Ephraim, Youth, West (autumnal equinox).

Dan, Basilisk, North (winter solstice).

The arrangement of the camp may be seen by the following plan :

WEST Emblem : <i>Man</i> (Youth)		NORTH. Emblem <i>Basilisk</i>	
	Naphtali beryl	Dan chrysolyte	Asher jasper
	Benjamin, amethyst	TABERNACLE	topaz, Issachar
	Ephraim, ligure		sardius, Judah
	Manasseh, agate		carbuncle, Zebulon
	diamond		sapphire
	Gad	emerald Ruben Ox	Simeon
		SOUTH	
			EAST Emblem : <i>Lion</i>

In the description of the twelve foundation stones of the celestial Jerusalem we shall again meet with the colours of the standards of the twelve tribes (corresponding to the precious stones of the high priest's breastplate), for the twelve-gated celestial city with its twelve-towered gates is nothing else but the firmament with the twelve gates of the zodiac. The twelve zodiacal stations of the sun were called towers by the Greek astrologers.

Round about the throne of God John sees four and twenty thrones on which the four and twenty elders sit. These are the twenty-four constellations of the northern and

southern hemispheres which were chiefly known to the ancients. According to Diodorus ii. 31 they were called by the Babylonians "the judges over all things."

Before the throne John saw seven lamps of fire burning, and he adds: "those are the seven spirits of God." These seven lamps are (like the seven flames of the seven-branched candlestick in the temple) a symbol of the seven planets.¹ We met already with the same symbol in the seven stars which the Son of Man holds in his right hand.

Just as the twelve signs of the zodiac are the guardian angels of the twelve tribes of Israel, so the seven planet-angels are the guardian angels of the peoples and of the heathen-Christian communities. Thus the two symbols in the holy place of the temple, the table of showbread and the candlesticks, represent the entire community of God in Israel and amongst the nations. Before the throne there was a sea of glass transparent as crystal. The circle of beasts, or cherubim, bear the throne of God—the throne of "the God that is enthroned above the cherubim"; the foundation of the throne of God, which is like a sea of glass, is the crystal dome of the sky.

Last of all John sees in the wide space about the throne a thousand thousand myriads of myriads of angels, the starry army of the celestial hosts, who with the cherubim and the elders inhabit the immeasurable house of the cosmos and serve the Creator of heaven and earth in His temple.

G. THE BOOK WITH SEVEN SEALS.

After John has described the celestial scene his attention is drawn first to the book with seven seals which rests in the hand of the Almighty. The question of the angel, the silence of all the inhabitants of heaven, the emotion

¹ Compare the passage quoted from Josephus in the immediately preceding footnote.

of John, and at last the appearance of the Lamb, produce with gradually increasing impressiveness the tension which is relaxed by the opening of the seven seals. The book in the hand of the Almighty is the book of fate in which is written what has been decided in the council of God as to the future of the world. In the midst of the celestial council, nearest to the throne of God, the Son of God appears in the likeness of Jesus, the Lamb that was slain. The seven horns and the seven eyes, the symbols of the planets that rule the earth, are united with the suffering figure of the Lamb into one figure. The pains of death have not been forgotten in that triumphant figure of universal cosmic sovereignty.¹ The Crucified One alone is worthy to dictate to the world its destiny and to open the seven seals of the book of fate amid the songs of praise and worship of the celestial throng.

The thrice seven visions (seven seals, seven trumpets, seven plagues) which now follow are described in the speech of the ancient astrological symbolism; they have at once a cosmological and a chronological character. According to the old oriental view of the universe, the course of events on earth is decided by the constellations, and above all by the influence of the seven planets. The astral operation and periodic dominance of the stars brings blessings or curses according to the conduct of the people of the earth. The unsealed book of fate describes the short course of a jubilee period of $7 \times 7 + 1 = 50$ years.

¹ [The thought embodied in this figure, pathetic and triumphant, is expressed in a sustained metaphor of battle (gathering the spoils from the dead enemy, and celebrating the triumph in Roman style) by Paul in Colossians ii. 14, "having despoiled the principalities and the powers, he exhibited them to the gaze of the world as he celebrated his triumph over them (gained) in his crucifixion." See also my *Luke the Physician*, p. 297, where the false translation of ἀπεκδυσάμενος was wrongly allowed to stand. Ephesians i. 20-23 also expresses the same thought.—W. M. R.]

This period is divided up according to the order of the planets, which rule the years and the weeks of the years. This astral chronology is probably founded on a system of intercalation, to which we shall devote later a special investigation.

According to the scheme of the old astrology the cosmos is described by seven points. The four cardinal points, east, south, west and north, are symbolised by the four signs of the zodiac, Lion, Ox, Man (Water-carrier) and Eagle (Scorpion), the south pole and north pole by the two constellations of the southern and northern altars, and the centre of the universe by the sun. The "altar," one of the most southerly constellations visible in the oriental sky, marks the underside of the world and the entrance to the underworld. Opposite to the under altar (altar of burnt offerings), which represents the south pole, stands, as representative of the north pole, the upper altar (altar of incense), which we may probably take to be the Little Bear. The entire cosmos is described by these seven world-points.

The seven planets are assigned to the seven world-points. Upon the call of the four beasts or signs of the zodiac there appear, in the visions that ensue upon the opening of the first four seals, in the image of riders mounted respectively on a white, a red, a black and a pale horse, the four planets, Moon,¹ Mars,² Mercury and Jupiter: these may be recognised by their heraldic colours [(white, red, black or dark blue, and yellow) and by their planetary influence (victory, war, hunger, death). The description of the influence of the planet-spirits leads here already to the view which will be made

¹ Moon, Aramaic Lebana, the white one.

² Mars, Aram, Maadim, the red one.

further clear to us, that, according to the beliefs of the Jewish angelology, not only good but also evil angel-powers had their place and dominion in the planets. In the star-worlds and among their angel-hosts is waged the same battle between good and evil as on earth. Victory and defeat of the cosmic angelic powers has its influence on the destiny of the terrestrial world.

Under the first, second, third and fourth seals, victory, war, hunger and death, the spirits of the Moon, Mars, Mercury and Jupiter, ride on their heraldic horses over the earth. Death is followed by Hades, who shows himself at the opening of the fifth seal. Under the altar are heard the voices of the martyrs from the realm of the dead; the hole in the earth beside the altar, which is intended to receive the blood of the victims, is the entrance to the underworld.¹

The planets, Moon, Mars, Mercury and Jupiter are followed in the diurnal² order of the planets by Venus, who as evening star descends into the underworld, and as morning star rises again from the dead; an allegory which is the foundation of the Babylonian myth of Istar's (Astarte, Venus) journey to hell. The souls waiting in the kingdom of the dead are told that they must wait yet a little time—the time of the Sabbath-star, Sabbatai = Saturn, which is about to follow, the time of the sixth seal, while the prayers of the righteous ascend to God from the upper altar (altar of incense). Up to now the order of the six

¹ Compare Fr. Boll, *Sphaera*, 1903, page 443: The constellation of the altar "as puteus on four steps, flames burst from it and on each side two devils fly out from it." Page 446: "The altar has become through the demons which hover round it, according to Michael Scotus, a sort of entrance to hell." Compare the passage there quoted: *Sacrarius—signum navigantibus per contrarium etc.*, and what is said there about the altar as "constellation of Hades."

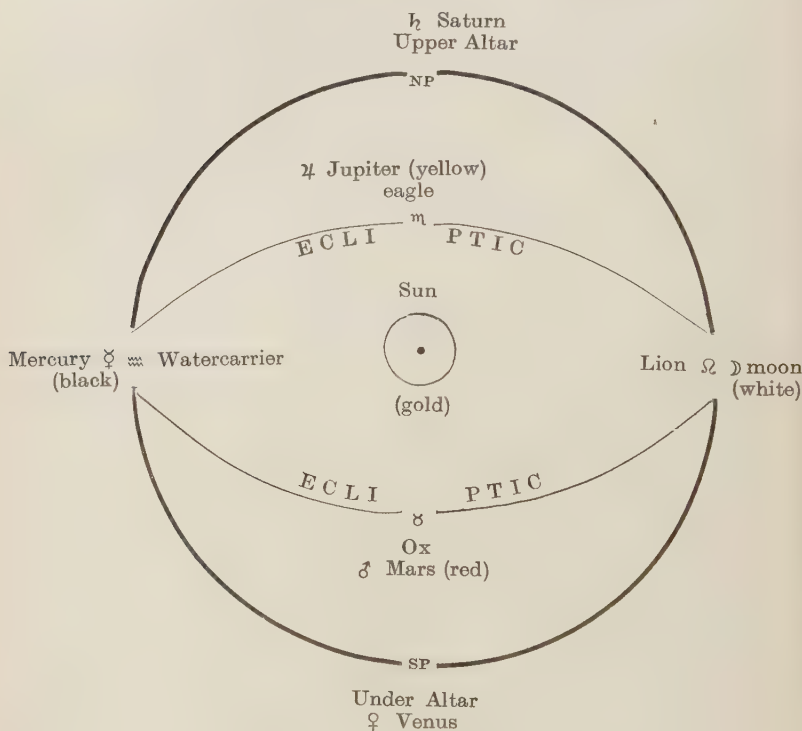
² i.e. the order of the planets in the week.

seal planets is the same as the order of the days of the week : Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn. Consistently, therefore, the angel of the sun appears under the seventh seal after the signs which appear on Sun, Moon and Stars (comp. the analogies at the fourth trumpet and the fourth plague) have announced the great day of judgment. In the cosmic system, after the four cardinal points and the north and south poles have been given away, only the centre remains as symbolical resting-place for the sun. The angel of the sun, Raphael, "clothed with a cloud, a rainbow upon his head, his face as it were the sun, his feet as pillars of fire," is in the following series of visions the interpreter who explains the trumpet-visions to John.

The seventh seal describes already the great battle of the nations at Har-mageddon to which the trumpet and plague visions also have reference, the great battle with which the judgment of God on the earth comes to a conclusion. Thus the seventh seal is an anticipation. Its contents are analysed in the seven trumpet visions. The seventh trumpet again is explained in the seven plagues. As, at the fall of Jericho, the priests' procession with the ark of the covenant marched round the beleaguered city once every day for six days and seven times on the seventh day, so here the seventh seal multiplies itself to seven trumpets, and the seventh trumpet to seven plagues, until the walls of the great world-city, Babel, at the time of the last plague, crash down amidst the sound of the celestial trumpets.

The symbols of the times of the seven seals may be seen from the following plan :

1. Seal	Lion	east	white horse	victory	Moon
2. „	Ox	south	red horse	war	Mars
3. „	Man	west	black horse	hunger	Mercury
4. „	Eagle	north	pale horse	death	Jupiter
5. „	under altar	south pole	underworld	martyrdom	Venus
6. „	upper altar	north pole	overworld	sabbath rest	Saturn
7. „	sun-angel	centre of world	last judgment	Harmageddon	Sun



JOHANN LEPSIUS.
HELENA RAMSAY, *transl.*

*THE SYNOPTIC EVANGELISTS AND THE
PHARISEES.*

IN the story of the Lord's life, as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, the Pharisees appear as the most conspicuous among the contemporary Jewish parties. In the Second Gospel their name occurs twelve times, but with reference to five occasions only. The representation of them which St. Mark gives is simple and consistent throughout. They always appear in opposition to Christ, and there is no redeeming feature in their behaviour. This attitude of hostility is not, according to this Evangelist, of slow growth, but appears quite early in the ministry. In his second chapter he is already dealing with the first manifestations of it.

When we turn to the First Gospel we find this sinister portrait redrawn with even darker lines. It has long been recognised that "Matthew" betrays a strong prejudice against the Pharisees. In his book they figure as the implacable foes of Christ intent on destroying Him. It is on them that His most terrible denunciations descend. Their bitterness continues to show itself even after the Crucifixion (Matt. xxvii. 62). It is impossible to read the passages in which they are mentioned without perceiving that the writer is actuated throughout by a strong dislike of the Pharisaic party.

But it is perhaps less commonly realised that in the Third Gospel we have a remarkable contrast to the First in this particular point. St. Luke is by no means blind to the faults of the Pharisees nor does he deny that they rejected the claims and teaching of Jesus, and played their part in stirring up the people against Him. But he does not commit himself to an indiscriminate condemnation of them. He takes pains to discern between the good and the evil that were in

them. In his Gospel he paints such a picture of them that we are able to believe his later statement that some of them became members of the Christian Church (Acts xv. 5), a fact which would be almost incredible if we had no previous knowledge of them save that which is derived from the First Gospel. It is the aim of this paper to show by a survey of the relevant passages the extent to which the Evangelists differ in their estimates of the Pharisees, and to suggest reasons which may possibly have influenced them in forming their opinions.

(1) *Marcan passages repeated by one or both of the other Evangelists.*

In Mark ii 1-iii. 6 are grouped together certain incidents which gave occasion to the Pharisees to murmur: Christ's eating with sinners, the absence of fasting among His disciples, the plucking of corn on the Sabbath, and the healing of the paralytic on the Sabbath. As far as the first three of these are concerned the three Evangelists display practically no variations, though it may be noted that while Matthew and Mark call the objectors to the corn-plucking simply *οἱ Φαρισαῖοι*, Luke distinguishes by writing *τινες τῶν Φαρισαίων*. But in the fourth incident Luke has softened the earlier account in two points. He has omitted the statement that Christ was grieved at the hardness of their hearts, and for the conclusion of the story, as given by the other Evangelists, that the Pharisees deliberated "*ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν*" he substitutes, "*τί ἂν ποιήσαιεν.*" By comparison with Acts iv. 13 it may be seen that this phrase does not necessarily imply putting to death.

This section involves another question for further consideration. At this point Mark alone associates the Herodians with the Pharisees. This unnatural combination of the foreign usurpers with the patriotic party among the Jews is found again in his Gospel at xii. 14, where it is retained in

Matthew also. In Mark viii. 15 the Lord bids His disciples "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod." But here Matthew replaces the name of Herod by that of the Sadducees, and explains that by leaven is meant false teaching. Swete takes Sadducees to be "roughly equivalent" to Herodians here, and the leaven to be the "practical unbelief which springs from love of the world." But Allen points out (on St. Matt. xvi. 12) that the leaven of Herod can hardly be teaching, but must refer to some political action. If this be so the two names do not signify the same people and St. Mark is peculiar in mentioning Herod in this passage. There is evidence among the early traditions that Herod and his partisans were more active in opposing Christ than is generally realised. In St. Luke xiii. 31 ff. is a short notice of a plot against Him of which Herod Antipas was the centre, and in Acts iv. 27 Herod is named even before Pilate as being one of those who fulfilled the words of Psalm ii. about the adversaries of the Lord's anointed. A similar prominence is assigned to Herod in Ignatius ad Smyrn. I., while the Gospel of Peter (i. 1) goes so far as to make the arrest of the Lord the result of an order from Herod, whose consent has to be obtained later before the body can be removed from the Cross. Now it is by no means impossible that the Pharisees of the New Testament time would ally themselves with Herodians when it suited their purpose. In earlier days when they and their forefathers among the Chasidim followed nobler ideals this could not have happened. But at this period there is abundant evidence that they were as a class only too ready to substitute political for spiritual force. The author of the *Assumption of Moses* (composed, according to Dr. Charles, between B.C. 3 and A.D. 30) is a Pharisaic quietist who abhors the Herodian family and all its associations (v. ch. vi.), but it is clear that he is grieved by a general readiness among his fellow-Pharisees

to join the Herods when it served their own political ends. We may therefore conclude that Mark has preserved a true tradition in viii. 15 and that Matthew's correction is due to a misunderstanding.

Mark iii. 22-26. Christ is accused by "scribes from Jerusalem" of casting out devils with the aid of Beelzebub. Matthew repeats this charge twice (ix. 34, xii. 24) and in both cases puts it into the mouth of Pharisees. Luke, on the other hand, says that it came from some of the crowd (xi. 15).

Mark vii. 1-11. A deputation of the Pharisees come to ask why the disciples neglect the handwashing before meat required by the "tradition of the elders." Matthew repeats the story, and adds to it the report that the Pharisees were scandalised at His reply. Jesus then refers to them as "blind guides." This epithet is again applied to them in Matthew's Gospel (xxiii. 24), but elsewhere the metaphorical use of the word τυφλός is found only in St John ix. 41, where it is again employed with reference to the Pharisees. It would thus seem that there was a strong tradition that our Lord did so speak of them. But Luke omits the whole of this section, and when he quotes the saying about "blind guides" (vi. 39) introduces no reference to the Pharisees. Harnack considers that Matthew has preserved the more primitive form of the saying itself. Are we then to conclude that Luke not only deliberately altered the saying but also removed its connexion with the Pharisees?

Mark viii. 11. A sign from heaven demanded. Matthew and Mark both ascribe this demand to Pharisees. Luke (xi. 16) says it came from some of the crowd.

Mark x. 2 ff. The Pharisees came with malice to test Christ by asking His views on divorce. In taking over this account Matthew makes two important modifications: (1) He inserts the famous exception to the prohibition of divorce *ὡς ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*. (2) In Mark after Jesus has answered the

Pharisees He goes into the house and tells the disciples that whosoever puts away his wife and marries another woman commits adultery. Matthew (xix. 19) includes this in the discourse to the Pharisees. This saying is all that Luke has preserved in this section (xvi. 18). In the very compressed passage of his Gospel in which it occurs it is difficult to know how far it was directly addressed to the Pharisees. But he records no malicious question on their part as leading up to it. It is noteworthy that D and some good Old Latin MSS. of Mark omit the name of the Pharisees here. Is it possible that in the proto-Mark they were not named, but that later scribes inserted them under the influence of Matthew?

Mark xii. 12 relates that after hearing the parable of the wicked husbandmen "they sought to arrest Him." Luke supplies "the chief priests and scribes" as the subject. Matthew expressly mentions the Pharisees. In Mark and Luke this is immediately followed by the question about the tribute to Caesar. Mark says that "they," presumably the chief priests, sent some of the Herodians and Pharisees to ask the question. Luke does not name either of these parties. Matthew makes the Pharisees alone the prime movers on this occasion and says that they plotted to ensnare Jesus. Later in the same day a scribe asked Jesus which was the first commandment of all. According to Mark (xii. 28 ff.) the question was put in good faith, and the scribe's reception of Christ's answer was declared by Christ to show that he was not far from the kingdom of God. In Luke it is "a lawyer" who asks the question, and he does not appear in so favourable a light (Luke x. 25). In Matthew (xxii. 34) the question is stated to be the result of a meeting of the Pharisees at which they had deliberated how to attack Jesus. The next question is put not to but by our Lord, and concerns Psalm cx. In Mark (xii. 35) it is addressed to the crowd, as is clear from the words, "How say the scribes?"

In Luke (xx. 41) the hearers are scarcely more clearly defined. But in Matthew (xxii. 41-46) they are explicitly said to be the Pharisees, and the incident ends in their confusion.

This is the last passage relating to the Pharisees in which we are able to compare the three Gospels. The great denunciation of the Pharisees in Matthew xxiii. certainly repeats three verses found in Mark. But these can hardly be the basis of Matthew's chapter and Luke has retained the three by themselves (xx. 45-47), but has the discourse which is parallel to Matthew in his eleventh chapter. The First and Third Evangelists are here drawing from a source which is independent of the Second Gospel.

The general impression left by the examination of these parallels is that wherever possible Matthew aggravates the wrong-doing of the Pharisees either by adding to narratives in which they are already mentioned in the earlier Gospel, or by connecting their name with discreditable actions elsewhere not assigned to them. Luke, on the other hand, is as consistent in his endeavour to relieve them, wherever possible, from the odium of persecuting Jesus.

(2) *Passages in the First and Third Gospels based on the non-Markan source (Q).*

Matthew iii. 7, Luke iii. 7. The stern address of the Baptist opening with the words " Offspring of vipers " is said by Luke to have been uttered to the crowds who came out to be baptized by him. Matthew, on the other hand, describes John as being moved to speak in this way by the sight of many Pharisees and Sadducees. The epithet *γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν* is again found in Matthew xii. 34 where Jesus applies it to the Pharisees. It is noticeable that in both passages it is connected with the comparison of the corrupt lives of the Pharisees to decayed trees bringing forth rotten fruit. Just as, according to this Gospel, Jesus takes up the Baptist's cry, " Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand " (cp. iii.

2 with iv. 17) so also He repeats this denunciatory phrase, and couples with it the same figure of speech. It is possible that when the Evangelist found these words in a discourse of Jesus addressed to Pharisees he argued back to the use of them by the Baptist and inferred that he also had intended them to describe the Pharisees.

Matthew xvi. 2-3 contains a rebuke for hypocrisy aimed at the Pharisees. The same rebuke is recorded in Luke xii. 54-56, but the offenders are there said to be the common people. This is the third passage in which we have discovered this distinction, between the two Evangelists. Mr. Wright in his "Synopsis," a book which lays very large obligations on all who attempt an investigation of this kind, sees the explanation in St. Luke's dislike of the "masses." "In all his writings the rabble—the lower orders—the illiterate noisy mischief-makers come in for censure" (p. 188). Does not this statement need some qualification? It is true that in the Acts mob violence is the subject of condemnation more than once. But this does not necessarily imply a general aversion to the lower orders. In the Third Gospel they are frequently depicted as being eager to hear the Lord, and rejoicing over His mighty works (v. e.g., c. viii. *passim*, xiii. 17). If the view adopted in this paper is justified the difference between the Evangelists would arise not from St. Luke's contempt for the rabble, but rather from his desire to be fair to the Pharisees.

Matthew xxiii., Luke xi. 37-54. A collection of woes uttered by our Lord. Harnack (*Sayings*, Eng. Transl., 96-105) holds that Matthew has preserved them in a form nearer the original of Q. If this is so Luke's alterations must be the result of deliberate action. These are: (1) Matthew uses throughout the address "Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites." Luke omits the "scribes" and the "hypocrites." (2) After three of the woes have been recorded Luke inserts

a protest by a "Lawyer," who says that in these denunciations his class also is involved. The Lord then resumes the series of woes, but directs them against the lawyers, Pharisees being no more mentioned. The question then arises as to whether Luke employs the word *νομικός* as a mere synonym for Pharisee. If that were so it would be hard to understand why the Lord replied to the lawyer's interruption, "Woe unto you lawyers *also*." While it may be taken that *νομικός* and *γραμματεὺς* are practically synonymous, neither of them is exactly the equivalent of "Pharisee." Edersheim (*Life and Times*, i. 93) remarks that "although the lawyer generally appears in company with the Pharisees he is not necessarily one of them." That the scribes were not all Pharisees is shown by the phrases, "scribes of the Pharisees" (Mark ii. 16) and "scribes of the Pharisees' part" (Acts xxiii. 9), implying that there were other scribes who were attached to other parties. In Luke xv. 2 occurs the expression *οἱ τε Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς*, in which the two names are kept quite distinct. When, therefore, in this section St. Luke substitutes at the fourth Woe the lawyers for the Pharisees he seems to desire to relieve the Pharisees from having to bear the full weight of these denunciations.

(3) *Passages which are found only in one of the Evangelists.*

(a) Matthew v. 20. "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." This was the most crushing condemnation of the Pharisees which could have been uttered. Their "righteousness" was a technical term signifying complete fulfilment of all the requirements of the Law (cp. Philipp. iii. 6). A century before the delivery of the Sermon on the Mount the ideal Pharisee's righteousness had been sketched in the Psalms of Solomon (v. Ps. S. iii.). The germs of exclusiveness and arrogance are

not lacking even there, and they had developed rapidly in the intervening years. In the first part of Matthew vi. there can be little doubt that the treatment of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting, is intended as a warning against the defects of the Pharisaic righteousness. All this is peculiar to Matthew. If it was in Q Luke has not preserved it, and when he introduces the Lord's Prayer (xi. 1) he prefaces it with no polemic against Pharisaic and heathen methods of praying, such as stand in Matthew.

Matthew xxvii. The Pharisees join with the chief priests in demanding from Pilate the sealing of the tomb.

(b) Luke vii. 36-50. Anointing by the woman in the Pharisee's house. If, with Swete and Plummer, we refuse to identify this with the incident narrated in Mark xiv. the story is peculiar to Luke. The Pharisee's reception of Christ lacks courtesy, and he suffers a just rebuke. On the other hand, as Plummer remarks, "there is nothing to show that the Pharisee had any sinister motive in asking Him." Further, it is to be noted that Luke alone preserves the record of invitations from Pharisees and that on three occasions (cp. xi. 37 ; xiv. 1). The second is the more remarkable as it was given just after our Lord had been denouncing the blindness of the Jews of the day.

Luke xiii. 31-35. The Pharisees warn Jesus that Herod wishes to kill Him. It seems quite unnecessary to ascribe a malicious design to the Pharisees on this occasion. The admission of Bruce (*Exp. Greek Test.* in loc.) that they may have been regarded by the Evangelist as friends here fits in with the probabilities of the case. St. Luke nowhere gives any sign that he was aware of any connexion between Pharisees and Herod. The assertions of Mark that such a connexion did exist find no echo in his Gospel.

Luke xvii. 20. The Pharisees ask when the kingdom of God will come. "There is no evidence that the question was

asked in contempt " (Plummer). Jesus here by implication ascribes to the Pharisees the habit of παρατήρησις for the kingdom. This word does not occur elsewhere in the Bible, nor is it classical, but was used, according to Preuschen *Handw. z. N.T.*, s.v., quoting Wellhausen) of the careful watching of the heavens by sailors on a voyage. The Pharisees are looking in the wrong quarter for the tokens of the advent, but their desire to learn is genuine. We may compare the similar question of the disciples in Acts i. 6.

Luke xviii. 9 ff. The Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax-gatherer. This is peculiar to Luke and as often expounded is made to convey such a condemnation of the Pharisees as would destroy any argument that this Evangelist wished to spare them. But we must, surely, hold with Godet that the story is preserved, not to prove depravity in the Pharisee but to show the futility of the system which he represented. He was not a bad man ; according to his own standard his life was blameless, and included even works of supererogation. He is the best type of legalist, and for that very reason the better fitted to demonstrate the inability of legalism to commend a man to God. The tax-gatherer, on the other hand, is spoken of as δεικναιόμενος. Without claiming for this word here the full theological sense which it bears in the Pauline Epistles, we may admit that it already expresses the principle which it expresses in them. The tax-gatherer was accepted for his penitence by God, but the Pharisee for all his legal uprightness was rejected. Mr. Wright justly places the story among the " Pauline fragments " of St. Luke. It is not inserted in the Gospel merely to attack the Pharisees.

Luke xvi. 14. A statement, peculiar to this Gospel, that the Pharisees mocked on hearing the condemnation of mammon service because they were themselves covetous. Here, again, we may trace a connexion with St. Paul. In Romans

vii. 7 he says that coveting (*ἐπιθυμία*) was the sin of which the Law had made him conscious. Now without absolutely limiting *ἐπιθυμία* to the narrower sense of the word "coveting" we must admit that there is an unmistakeable reference here to the tenth Commandment. Saul, the unconverted Pharisee, had felt covetousness to be the besetting sin of himself and his order. The Lord had this in mind when He gave the warning in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vi. 19 ff.). In the Apostle's later days there was no accusation to which he was so sensitive as that of covetousness (2 Cor. xi. 9 ff. ; 1 Thess. ii. 5 ; Acts xx. 33). He was no longer guilty of this sin, but his enemies took advantage of his Pharisaic extraction to impute it to him. So when St. Luke came to delineate the Pharisees he had to give this feature a place in his picture, if it was to be true to life.

Luke xix. 39. Protest raised by "some of the Pharisees in the crowd" against the acclamations on Palm Sunday. There is nothing corresponding to this at this particular point in the other Gospels. But it looks as if Luke had here inserted the protest recorded by Matthew after the cleansing of the Temple (Matt. xxi. 15-16). It is noticeable that here again is a striking variant in Syr-Sin. "Some of the people from amongst the crowd said unto Him, Good Teacher, rebuke Thy disciples that they shout not."

Inferences.

In the foregoing investigation, while many of the points are small in themselves, the cumulative effect cannot be mistaken. The Evangelists differ, one from another, in their method of speaking about the Pharisees. Can we suggest any reason why this should be so ?

In dealing with the First Gospel we are so entirely in the dark about its author that there is but little to guide us even in conjecture about him. But of his attitude towards the Pharisees two things may be said : (1) If he was a Jew he

could not have been a native of Jerusalem. No one familiar with the capital could have coupled together, as he repeatedly does, Pharisees and Sadducees, for the hatred which divided the two parties was notorious. Was he a provincial living in some out-of-the-way place? Or must we assign him a date at which the distinction between the parties had been forgotten? Schurer (ii. 2, p. 43 Eng. Transl.) points out that after the fall of Jerusalem the Sadducees disappeared from history, and even Jewish scholars soon retained only a very misty idea of the true position and doctrines of this party. Such a vagueness would see nothing incongruous in naming Pharisees and Sadducees together. We can only state this as a problem waiting for solution. (2) An examination of the relation of "Matthew" to Apocalyptic literature may help us to see where his sympathies lay. In the second and first centuries B.C. much of this literature had been the work of Pharisaic writers, e.g., the Assumption of Moses and portions of Enoch. But in the time of our Lord, Rabbinic Judaism, to quote Dr. Oesterley, "which represents the triumph of the Pharisaic party within the ranks of Judaism, practically banned the entire Apocalyptic literature" (*Doctrine of the Last Things*, p. 66). These books reflected the popular Messianic hopes of the day, and gave little heed to making a fence for the Law, which was the chief occupation of the Pharisees. Again, the Apocalypses laid stress on individual religion, and regarded with little favour the political activity which distinguished the later Pharisees. Now a reference to the introductions which Dr. Charles has prefixed to his editions of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs will show that the First Gospel more than any other book in the New Testament betrays the influence of these books. In Enoch Matthew knows not only the Similitudes which were also familiar to Luke, but also the section placed second by Dr. Charles

(cc. 83-90). (Had he been acquainted with the third part (91-104) with its strong denunciation of the Sadducees he might have been less ready to name the Pharisees in the same breath with them.) With the Assumption of Moses he has two points of contact, and about twenty with the Testaments. All this points to a man who was in full sympathy with the popular religious aspirations of the time, and, therefore, one to whom Pharisaic exclusiveness would be especially hateful. He was probably one of the *am haarets* whom the Pharisees held in contempt, and from whom they bound themselves by oath never to accept hospitality. His social position would then be similar to that of Matthew the Apostle whose work he seems to have incorporated in his own. Later ages remembered only one of these men of great faith, but obscure place, and ascribed the whole book to him.

To the formation of the verdict which St. Luke passed on the Pharisees three factors contributed, of which the least important may be stated first : (1) His artistic temperament. There is evidence of this in his books, quite apart from vague tradition. In contrast to St. John, who works only in black and white, St. Luke recognises that human characters display many hues, and will paint none darker than need be. (2) His Gospel and the Acts both reveal him as a man who honoured women, and was ready to learn from them. The evidence for this may be seen in Ramsay's *Was Christ born at Bethlehem* (p. 88) and Rackham's *Acts* (p. xxxi.) and need not be repeated here. Now we learn from Josephus that the Pharisees were, as a class, popular with women. They could look back to the reign of a woman, Queen Alexandra, (B.C. 78-69) as their own golden days. They relaxed some of the laws of disability under which women suffered. So a Gentile who conversed much with Jewish women would hear the best that could be said about the Pharisees, he would be able to judge of their strength as well as of their weakness.

(3) Luke was the follower of the great Pharisee St. Paul. The Apostle was never ashamed of his extraction. He proclaimed it in speech (Acts xxiii. 6, xxvi. 5) and in letter (Philipp. iii. 5). Was he likely to allow one who was closely associated with him to think nothing but evil of the Pharisees? In the time of Christ the majority of them were hard and prejudiced, but they were the descendants of the men who had uttered the finest plea for a forgiving spirit which the world ever heard before Christ Himself came (Test. xii. Patr. Gad vi.) and there were many among them who were still faithful to the earlier ideal. It is this mixed character of their class which is faithfully reflected in the Third Gospel. When the writer in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* (s.v. Pharisee) states that "owing to the hostile attitude taken towards the Pharisaic schools by Pauline Christianity, 'Pharisee' was inserted in the Gospels wherever the High Priests, Sadducees, or Herodians were originally mentioned as the persecutors of Jesus," he is alleging that which our evidence shows to have been the exact opposite of what actually took place. It is the lighter view of the Pharisees in the Third Gospel, not the darker picture in the First, which is due to the influence of St. Paul.

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ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING GOSPEL CRITICISM.

ONE cannot rise from the study of the criticism of the Gospels without feeling that the conclusions at which each writer arrives—whether they accord with traditional or anti-traditional views—are determined in great measure by assumptions concerning Christ and Christianity which must affect his notions as to the limits of the credibility or naturalness of what he has read in the Gospels. I have for some time felt strongly that Christians who belong to

the great historical communions, and recognise the authority of the ancient creeds, are in danger of forgetting that in that fact—a fact providentially ordered—they possess a reasonable ground for hesitation before yielding assent at once to conclusions of destructive criticism, which, while they attract the intellect, lower spiritual vitality. This thought has moved me to lay before the readers of the *EXPOSITOR* some of the fundamental considerations—assumptions as regards Christ, the nature of a Gospel, and the Church—which enable me, after giving every difficulty due weight, to retain my confidence in the Gospels, and not least in the Fourth Gospel, as a faithful presentation of the person and teaching of Jesus Christ our Lord.

That is the really important point. It is not essential to the preservation of our faith as Christians that we should be unable to suppose that the Evangelists were liable to the infirmities of human authors ; but it is of vital importance that we should be able to accept as trustworthy the portrait they have drawn of Jesus Christ, and for this reason. The criticism of the Gospels differs from that of any other portion of the Bible in that it touches the foundation of the Christian religion. Jesus Christ is at once the foundation and the coping and the mortar and plumb-line of the temple of the living God. The literary and historical problems presented by the Old Testament do not affect us at all in the same way. The historicity of the persons of the Old Testament, the dates and composition of the books are, comparatively speaking, matters of no importance. You may wash off the canvas of your belief the traditional forms of Abraham, of Moses, of David, and of Isaiah ; you may date *Malachi* earlier than *Genesis* ; still there remain the unique literature of ancient Israel, and the unique people of Israel, with their ineffaceable testimony pointing forward to the Saviour of the world.

Again, the Hebrew religion, not less than the religion of Buddhism, is quite independent of the historical character of its supposed founder. But Christianity is Christ; a Person who was born as man, and who died as man, at certain definite moments of time in the past, and who nevertheless is now alive, unspeakably more alive than any living mortal man. If ever the time comes when none shall be able to say, "I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me," then Christianity, as it has been experienced for the past nineteen hundred years, will have come to an end.

This statement has not a devotional value merely; it expresses a fact of spiritual experience, which is relevant to the critical matter in hand, because it involves a fundamental assumption, the acceptance or rejection of which must seriously affect our historical criticism of the Gospels.

If Jesus Christ is alive now in a sense in which no other of the great men of the past is alive, then His death had a sequel which the death of no other man ever had; it was followed by a miracle the nature of which is expressed in the words, "His flesh did not see corruption." Let there be no evading this simple, plain question of fact. It is best to see where we stand, and not to allow a clear issue to be obscured by the vague language which is permissible in the conventional intercourse of society. It is very proper to use euphemistic expressions when speaking of the death of those we love and respect; we do not allow our imagination to dwell on the natural processes of physical decay; and, consequently, many writers who do not accept the affirmations of the creeds in their original sense, and yet have a genuine veneration for our Lord's memory, shrink from stating in unambiguous terms their belief that the body of Jesus of Nazareth, like that of "imperious

Caesar," "turned to clay." It is simply disastrous for any Christian to accept the polite language of respectful unbelievers in their own Christian sense. Destructive criticism may not impair the aesthetic religious sense ; unbelief may be, and is, consistent with admiration of and conformity to the outward manifestation of Christian character ; but disbelief in the Christ of the Creeds unquestionably deprives us of the divine grace of help in the strength of which we ordinary men are enabled to live the Christ life.

The ordinary man—whether in ancient or modern times—cannot find a stimulus to "walk in newness of life" in a Jesus who deserved, if any one ever did, to overcome death. The ordinary man lacks the "exquisite subtlety" which can rest in what ought to have been, as though it had been ; he asks, What did actually occur ? The Roman Governor Festus was an ordinary man ; and he stated the issue with commendable bluntness : The case of Paul, he told King Agrippa, concerned "one Jesus, who was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive" (Acts xxv. 19). Professor Sanday in his most recent work (*Christologies Ancient and Modern*) speaks (p. 101) of "two typical conceptions of Christianity" : a "reduced" or "minimum Christianity," and a "full" or "maximum Christianity." He goes on to say, "In the roughest and most general way," the former is German and the latter English. We can, however, without any risk of being misunderstood, say that these two types of Christianity—the "reduced" and the "full"—primarily result from the Festus and the Paul conception of Christ respectively. Now the critics of the Gospels may be divided into those who think with Festus and those who think with Paul ; and there can be no doubt that those who feel that Jesus is alive find it easier to accept the Gospel narrative as it stands than do those who are sure that He is dead. Let us frankly confess that Paul was pre-

judiced ; but also let Festus confess that he, too, is not free from an antecedent bias.

If Jesus Christ really rose from the dead, He is a Person of such a supernatural character that it is hazardous in the extreme to say that He could not have performed such a miracle as the raising of Lazarus, or that the tone of His teaching could not on any occasion have been that which St. John reports it to have been. We may be prepared to grant, as a matter of literary criticism, that there is something to be said in support of the opinion that the stories of the feeding of the 5,000 and of the 4,000 relate to one circumstance ; and there may be similar doublets in the Synoptic Gospels. The interest of such questions is merely an academic one. But, generally speaking, it is hard to see that Christians make their religion more acceptable to rationalists by whittling away the element of the miraculous from the historical record of our Lord's doings, if they maintain as immune and sacred from destructive criticism the greatest miracle of all.

The first and primary assumption, then, that lies at the back of my consciousness, when I begin the critical study of the Gospels, is that Jesus Christ is alive. This assumption is based not on my previous reading, but on a spiritual and very real actual experience, which makes me as sure that He is alive as that I myself am. This assumption does not make me credulous or uncritical in my deference to ancient documents ; it merely predisposes me to accept as true statements about Jesus' life as man which I could not easily accept as true in the case of a man like one of ourselves, a man whose death had not been followed by evidence of continued life. I feel that it is not only natural that Jesus should do the things which the Gospels say that He did, but that, being what I assume Him to have been, it is natural that all His words would not be equally compre-

hensible to all men, with equal ease ; in fact, that it is more likely than not that His sayings when they seem obscure are really profound.

I am now thinking of the discourses attributed to our Lord in the Fourth Gospel ; and I am not now claiming for the supposed speaker of these discourses a deference distinct in kind from that which we yield as a matter of course to any author of acknowledged genius. When we are reading Shakespeare, and meet with a passage that seems difficult to understand, the last thing that occurs to our minds is to suppose that the dramatist was concealing by obscurity his poverty of thought. If Jesus was the Word of God made flesh, it ought not to surprise us if His language, too, demands patient study.

On the other hand, those who, with Festus, assume that Jesus is dead, quite naturally and rightly refuse to believe of Him things which they could not believe of any other exceptionally gifted man ; and they do not feel themselves bound to conceive it possible that Jesus may have spoken in the Johannine manner as well as in the Synoptic manner, and that all men had not then, as they have not now, the capacity to receive and retain the Johannine tones. In point of fact, however, one of the Synoptic sources, that known as Q, did preserve a fragment of the Johannine utterance (Matt. xi. 25-27 ; Luke x. 21, 22), the most characteristic portion being—"All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father : and no one knoweth who the Son is, save the Father ; and who the Father is, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him." This precious fragment is a glimpse afforded by the compiler of Q into a world of whose wonders he could bring back this specimen only.

This fragment is all the more remarkable when we consider that we have not anywhere the actual words that

Jesus spoke, but only translations of them, translations preserved in the Synoptists and in St. John. We are, then, justified in believing that St. John has given us a faithful translation of the Aramaic words spoken by Jesus, even if we concede that he has in some places added an interpretation or a comment. It may not be always possible to mark with precision where the Master ends and the disciple begins. It often seems as if we were listening to a prophet who was also an apostle. While in the act of recalling what Jesus spake long ago in Judaea or in Galilee the beloved disciple hears the Spirit of Jesus speaking to him as he is writing.

This, however, need not disturb us, as I shall presently endeavour to show and the conclusion seems to be forced on us by the practical identity of style of the Epistles of St. John and of the Gospel.

This leads us naturally to a consideration of a second assumption which determines criticism—renders certain conclusions inevitable—and that is, our notions as to what manner of thing a gospel is. In the first place, it is not a *Summa Theologiae*. We have no reason to suppose that the writers or compilers of the Gospels intended to embody in them all that they believed about the Christian religion. So that when we are solemnly informed that the Fourth Gospel does not contain any direct teaching on the Atonement, it is natural to reply, Why should it? It is more important to note that a gospel is not a diary, or a chronicle, or even a history; it is a portrait in words of the Saviour of men in His character of Saviour. A historian differs from a diarist or a chronicler of events in that he correlates the data supplied by them, views the records as a whole, and interprets the several facts he deals with in the light of his view of the whole. But the historian, in common with the diarist or chronicler, attaches

importance to the sequence of events in time ; he deems it essential to the accuracy of his work that events should be set down exactly in the order in which they took place.

It is quite otherwise with the portrait painter whether in colours or in words. The portrait painter seeks to present the liveliest possible interpretation of a personality. Now, to the making of a man's personality every one of his past experiences has contributed. The order in which these past experiences occurred affected, no doubt, the final result ; but neither he who paints the portrait nor he who views it sees the experiences as a series ; he sees only the result of them. We can then understand that what we in modern times call historical accuracy is not a matter of primary importance to the writer of a gospel—a portrait in words. I do not mean that he would be indifferent to it ; on the contrary, St. Mark is careful to indicate the gradual growth of hostility on the part of the Jews towards our Lord ; St. Luke shows more than once that he felt the importance of chronological data ; St. Luke shows anxiety to set the work of Jesus and the fortunes of the Church in their place in the history of the world ; the Synoptists let us see that St. Peter's great confession marked a turning point in the Ministry ; St. John, of purpose, no doubt, silently corrects statements made by his predecessors, and supplies information which makes clear what they had left ambiguous. Some of these discrepancies, it must be confessed, involve one or other of the authorities in what we would now describe as historical blunders ; but it argues a great deficiency in the sense of proportion to maintain that such mistakes as to facts of minor importance impair the fidelity of the portrait of Jesus Christ found in the Synoptists or St. John.

If every copy of the Gospels were now lost or destroyed, I suppose it would be possible for very many Christians

to reproduce a portrait of our Lord sufficiently faithful to draw all men unto Him ; but very few indeed would be competent to reproduce the matter of the Gospels in the exact order in which we have it in our Bibles. If Pilate had "stayed for an answer" to his question, "What is truth" ? he might have been met by another question, Truth about what ? There are, no doubt, some matters the truth about which can be adequately expressed by the recitation of facts and phenomena such as it is possible for a machine or scientific instrument to record ; but personality is not one of the things the truth about which is either capable of scientific expression, or is seriously affected by inaccuracies as to matters of time and place. The truth about personality needs an interpreter for its expression ; and the greater the person the greater must be the insight and sympathy of the interpreter ; indeed, it may not be possible for one interpreter to express all that a man was to his contemporaries. We are all interpreters—some good, some indifferent—of the persons whom we meet ; and the physical impressions produced by them on our eyes and ears often vary considerably from the record of our interpreting faculty.

Again, the gift of selection is of all things necessary to the portrait painter. His interpretation of a personality depends on the selection he makes. He does not reproduce all that he sees ; he selects the most self-revealing traits. St. John expressly tells us (xx. 30, 31) that such was his own method—"These [and these alone] are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." And each of the other evangelists might have said the same.

The question then is, Can we trust the evangelic interpreter ? The answer to this question, which is an emphatic Yes, depends in great measure on our attitude towards a third fundamental consideration—viz., the witness of the

Church, the Body of Christ, which "has the mind of Christ."

The claim that I would make for the Church as a factor to be reckoned with in the question as to whether the Gospels present us with a trustworthy portrait of Jesus Christ is not an unreasonable one. In the case of every kind of sensation, it is the testimony of other people similarly affected that makes us sure that the things we think we see and hear and feel have an objective existence; it is the authority of the vast majority of humanity that assures us that we are in a normal state, or, it may be, convicts us as the victims of delusion. And even with respect to physical sensations which we ourselves have not experienced, when great numbers of people assure us that these sensations are pleasant or painful, we cannot believe that their statements do not represent facts. It seems to me that even for those to whom the expression "The Catholic Church" is merely an archaic technical term, the undoubted fact that numbers of men of all sorts and conditions agree in affirming that they recognise in the Jesus of the Gospels a Divine Person who is in present living relation to themselves is a phenomenon that demands explanation. And the phenomenon becomes the more imperative of explanation when we note that the Church of to-day is, on this point, at one with the Church of every age and clime in the past. It is quite otherwise with respect to the ecclesiastical interests of any past age of the Church. These, even of the last generation, seem to us remote and unreal; as a rule, we wonder why they once seemed so absorbing. But when the saints of the second, third, or any century speak of Jesus Christ, and what He was to them, their words and thoughts meet with a fresh and living response in our own hearts.

Now, those who accept the teaching of St. Paul about the Church—that it is the Body of Christ, animated by

His Spirit, a continuation of the Incarnation—have, as it seems to me, an adequate explanation of the phenomenon of which we have been speaking. The Church's life is one with Christ's ; " because He lives she lives also " ; He " is the same yesterday and to-day, yea and for ever," unvarying in His relations with the members of His Church, His Body.

A realisation of this conception of the Church, not merely as a society of like-minded men, but as a body quickened by one and the same life from age to age, will help us to understand at once the nature of the portrait of Jesus Christ presented in the Gospels, and also the ground on which the Gospels came to be accepted without any question ; for there is no trace of any controversy on the subject. In the first place, the Gospels—and this is especially true of the Fourth Gospel—are not so much a record of what Jesus was, as a testimony to what He is. I used to find a difficulty in the words, " All that came before Me are thieves and robbers : but the sheep did not hear them " (John x. 8) ; but since I have come to recognise there the voice of Jesus speaking to men of all ages, what seemed once to be inexplicable has become intelligible as a statement of spiritual experience. Again, in our thoughts about primitive Christianity, we must cease to allow our imaginations to be occupied exclusively by the great figures of a Paul, or a Peter, or a John. The Church was always greater than any individual saint. Christianity was not the product of a coterie of thinkers. The Church stood between them and Christ somewhat as Moses stood between God and Aaron (Exodus iv. 16, vii. 1).

The great leaders, a Paul or a John, gave logical expression to the beliefs of the Church ; they formulated her theology ; but they, not less than the rank and file of the Church, received the Gospels. The Church collective,

“having the mind of Christ,” recognised certain writings as giving a true portraiture of Christ. The process of authorisation of books was similar to the recognition of true prophets in the primitive Church assemblies; the prophet spoke, but “the others”—the silent multitude—“discerned,” and the sentence of their discernment, or discrimination, was final; so it was with the Gospels. In any case, however men may choose to account for it, the Gospels have a “natural force,” which shows no sign of abatement. They will outlast both inconsiderate attacks and unwise defences, and they will continue to affect men in the future as they have in the past; because the Christ in the hearts of each generation is mirrored in them; because the Church of each age will always hear in them a voice that she feels to be divine.

NEWPORT J. D. WHITE.

THE STORY OF THE LOST AND FOUND.

THERE can be, I suppose, very little doubt but that we owe to our Lord’s mother those stories of His infancy and childhood which are among the most precious things in the Gospel of St. Luke. The Evangelist nowhere claims or suggests that any part of his narrative was revealed to him in any supernatural way. However much it may have been overruled for the purposes of what we call “Inspiration,” it is clear from his own statement that its compilation was (humanly speaking) due to his own profound interest in the Life of Christ, and his own careful inquiry concerning the details of that Life. This must have been pre-eminently the case with regard to those particular details which lay outside the Synoptic tradition. We have reason to believe that our Lord’s mother was still living (probably at Ephesus) whilst St. Luke was preparing the material

for his Gospel. The stories of the infancy could hardly have come from any other source. It seems indeed almost impossible to imagine that any other source existed. It would be the most natural thing in the world that so great a traveller as our Evangelist should seek out the mother of our Lord wherever she might be, in order to get from her own lips information of such inexpressible interest to himself as well as to others.

This will be generally conceded as in the highest degree probable with respect to all this section of the Third Gospel. But it applies with peculiar force to the story of how the Holy Child was lost and found again. It seems inconceivable that it was taken from a book. It stands absolutely alone. It is quite unlike any of the apocryphal stories of His childhood. More than this, the real interest of it—the abiding, spiritual interest of it—evidently appears, on reflection, to attach itself not to the Child but to His “parents.” In a word the story can only show itself in its true light and beauty when it is treated as the Virgin Mother’s story of how she and Joseph lost that Holy Child and how they found Him again. Of course St. Luke wrote it, or rewrote it, in his own words as an integral part of his narrative; that was the task which he had set himself, and in fulfilling it he had to get rid of the personal note—the note of a profound spiritual experience—which the story must have had as told to him. But if once we have the clue, if we believe on internal evidence that it *is* the Virgin Mother’s story, we can without any difficulty put it back into her own words, and recover the personal note which makes it so infinitely touching. It cannot be wrong to do so, nor can it be charged with folly, because it is simply following up the line pointed out for us by the strong probabilities of the case. The Evangelist, having set his heart upon the blessed task of tracing the course

of all things accurately from the first, has found out (whether first or last does not matter) the aged mother of our Lord in that seclusion into which St. John had taken her. He has heard from her lips those stories of the Nativity, and of what preceded it, which he alone was privileged to give to the world. And then, surely, he must have said to her, "But have you nothing to tell me about His boyhood and His early manhood whilst He lived beneath your roof?" And she, we feel sure, will have answered him in substance thus, "Nothing—nothing that is fitting to be given to the world as you propose to give it. All His life with us was so quiet, so self-restrained, so hidden. He did no mighty works, He wrote no books, He preached no sermons—He only lived the perfect life of duty, obedience, and contemplation, in a small and mean estate. It would be doing Him a wrong to break the silence of those years, devoted as they were by the eternal Wisdom to the training of His human spirit: it would seem like gratifying a natural but idle curiosity." "Howbeit," she must have added after a pause, "There is one thing which I may tell you because it really concerns ourselves much more than it concerns Him: the memory of it has burnt itself into my mind: I recollect it all as if it were yesterday, because it was grief and shame and terror to me, followed by thankfulness and wonder unspeakable. Only think, we lost Him once, actually *lost* that Divine Child that had been committed to our care and charge, lost Him outright for three days, and almost believed we had lost Him for ever. It cannot be wrong to tell you, and through you all the friends of Christ, how *we* lost the Saviour-Child, and how *we* found Him again." It is of course guess-work, more or less—this putting of the Bible story into the mouth of His mother. But it is (I venture to think) justified by three very powerful considerations. First, the story must

originally have come from her or from Joseph—and he must have died before the story would have had any interest for others. Second, the obvious and intelligible reserve of Scripture about our Lord's early life makes some explanation of this solitary exception necessary, and rules out as insufficient the commonplace explanations often given. Third, the incident itself, thus thrown up into conspicuous relief against a background of silence, proves to be quite disappointing when treated merely as an incident in *His* life. If any one doubts that statement, let him think of the pictures he has seen (Holman Hunt's or another's) of the sermons he has heard, of the commentaries he has read. The older sort we reject, because they place the Holy Child in a position in which we feel quite sure that He never would (at that age) have placed Himself. We are certain that He did not lay Himself out for notoriety or applause. We are equally certain that He did not wilfully stay behind in the Temple, because He found it more interesting to be there than in the company of His parents. The newer sort we accept with thankfulness as throwing some light on the religious education of Jewish boys—which He also shared. But when all is said that can be from this point of view, the results are very disappointing. There is not anything to learn—there is no lesson perceptible, although we feel certain there was one intended. In a word, we must read it as the Virgin Mother's story, if we want to get at the true inwardness of it: and this, thank God, is quite easy—because it *was* hers originally. She will have told it to St. Luke in some such words as these: "You must not suppose that He was lost to us through any wilfulness or disobedience on His part, or any indifference to our feelings: He was never like that. It was just through our own carelessness that we lost sight of Him. I shudder even now when I look back and realise the dreadfulness of

the risk we ran. We were incomparably the happiest and the richest people in the world, but all the riches we had and all the happiness we enjoyed were in Him who dwelt within our home and made it Heaven. And we, in our easy-going confidence, actually lost Him! I think sometimes what would have happened if we had been obliged to return at last to Nazareth without Him: how could we have answered for it to ourselves or to God! Other people lose their children by the will of God, and they find it bitter enough. (*He* never could bear to see a mother's grief—you know about the widow of Nain and her son.) But to have forfeited that heavenly Child whom God had entrusted to us—that would have been so supremely awful! How did it come about? Very simply and easily, after all. He had always been ours, and had never caused us any anxiety. We had got so accustomed to His always being there, we just took His presence for granted: it never occurred to us that He could be lost. So we set out on our return journey, with a crowd of other pilgrims from Galilee, many of them relatives, friends, or acquaintances of our own. There is always a lot of very pleasant intercourse, you know, on these return journeys when the observances of the Passover are over, and the mind is free for lighter things. Perhaps there is some reaction too. So we were busy, and happy, and preoccupied all day, and it never once occurred to us that we had not set eyes on Him since we left the Holy City. He was in fact lost, and we had never noticed it: afterwards, and especially during that dreadful time when we were searching for Him, such carelessness seemed to us well-nigh incredible. You may say that it was natural and excusable—but it did not seem so to *us* then—nor does it now. Of course we looked for Him first among our kinsfolk and acquaintance—good people, for the most part, who loved Him too, and were

always glad to welcome Him on the few occasions when He found His way to them. But He was not there. Then indeed our anxiety became consternation, and we returned to Jerusalem to hunt for Him in every likely place we could think of. After three days of this misery, baffled and bewildered, utterly sick at heart, we said to one another, We have done all we can : it may be that we shall never see Him again : let us go to the Temple of God and lay all our sorrow and shame before the All-merciful—even as the good king Hezekiah did. Has He not said, Mine eyes and mine heart shall be there continually ? It was for that purpose we went thither—not with any idea that *He* might be there. But there, quite suddenly and unexpectedly, we found Him—found Him quite unchanged, as much ours as ever.”

To put the story thus is of course to make it a parable of a spiritual experience which innumerable Christian people have gone through from beginning to end. But it is not to put any strain upon St. Luke's narrative, or to give it any twist. He does not say, or imply, that the Holy Child had spent all that time in the Temple courts. The fact that His parents looked for Him everywhere else before they resorted to the Temple clearly shows that they had no natural expectation of finding Him there. They evidently had not brought Him with them with any view to putting Him under the instruction of the doctors. They went at last whither they should have gone at first, because they were at their wits' end, and knew not what more to do. Then the words came into their minds, “Seek ye my face,” and in seeking the face of God, in bringing quite simply and directly their grief and despair to Him, they found the Heavenly Treasure they seemed to have forfeited, they found Jesus whom they had lost.

And surely our Lord's words, when at last they did find

Him, point not obscurely to this reading of the incident. He did not tell them that He must needs have been found employed about His Father's business. Such a rendering, although possible, is inconsistent with all we know of Him, and of the Father's will concerning Him, at that time. Obviously, His duty lay in obedience to His parents at Nazareth, and in quiet self-development amidst obscure surroundings. But neither did He say in ordinary language that He must needs have been found in His Father's house. That may be the only way to english it intelligibly, but it misses the intentional vagueness of the phrase. When our Lord wished to speak of the outward and visible Temple as the House of His Father, He did so in simple unenigmatical words [St. John ii. 16, compare St. Luke xvi. 27]. There was no possible reason why He should not have done the same on this occasion, if He had meant quite the same thing. If He avoided using the word *οἶκος*, if He employed instead the curious expression *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου*, it was precisely because this vague and indeterminate phrase left room for the wider and more spiritual meaning which He intended. Used locally indeed it would not, properly speaking, mean "in my Father's house," but "on my Father's premises." Not only however is the article plural, but the noun is not expressed—leaving the mind free to think of any surroundings in which the Father may be found, in which they that seek His face may come face to face with Him. Outwardly and visibly these may be the Temple-courts at Jerusalem: inwardly and spiritually they may be any solitude in which God is found of them that look for Him earnestly and humbly. It is as true now as then that if any good people have lost touch with Jesus they may only hope to recover Him if they seek Him *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς*.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO TIMOTHY

XXVII. RELATION OF THE TWO EPISTLES

THAT there is a certain difference in tone between First and Second Timothy is evident to every careful reader. The First Epistle is not so demonstrative in its warmth and affectionateness as the second: its conclusion is by some writers considered to be "abrupt and even cold." This difference has been used as part of the basis for an argument that one or both of the letters must be regarded as wholly or partly the work of another writer than Paul. The favourite method in recent criticism of ancient Greek literature from Homer downwards has been to suppose an authentic kernel worked up into a much longer whole, or authentic fragments combined and connected and padded out, by some later hand. By this method it is believed that all the passages which are too clearly marked as Pauline to be denied by a clear-minded and unprejudiced judge can be accepted as authentic, and the rest, which is less plainly Pauline, because it adds new elements to our conception of his character and work, can be got rid of and eliminated as a forgery.

The argument that a difference in tone between two letters addressed to one person is inconsistent with authorship by a single writer implies the assumption that a man's tone in writing to a dear friend can never vary, but will always be equally demonstrative in every letter. That this assumption is groundless and false does not need to be proved or urged: every one knows that the facts of life contradict it. Where a series of letters are written in rapid succession and with a certain continuity of feeling (as, for example, a series of love-letters), the tone is likely to be more uniform.

But in a case like this, where two letters are separated by a considerable lapse of time, and where the circumstances amid which the two were composed are markedly different, there is not the slightest reason to assume that the tone must be the same, if one author wrote them.

That the ending of First Timothy is abrupt is quite true. There is no lingering over the concluding sentences, as if the writer were loath to stop without remembering and saying everything that may show his loving recollection, which is Paul's common method of ending his letters. The fact that the ending is abrupt—it consists of four words alike in the English version and in the original Greek—is sufficient explanation of the want of lingering affection in the leave-taking. You cannot linger long and express much devoted love within four words. Yet an abrupt ending is sometimes enforced or preferred in a letter to the dearest friend.

The whole argument against authenticity, founded on this difference of tone, is composed of statements and judgments made from the wrong point of view. Most of the negative reasoning in regard to these Epistles is of that character, as we observe in one case after another. The reader has only to put himself at the right point of view, and everything appears to him in proper perspective, simple and natural. Hence we shall not now stop to inquire whether First Timothy is rightly thought to be deficient in affection, or whether it is not rather the case that the intense anxiety which is expressed in the letter about Timothy's successful performance of his task is caused mainly by the very intensity of Paul's love for him. We assume for the moment that the argument is founded on a correct observation, and that the first letter shows less warmth of love than animates the second. The right question to ask is whether the circumstances in which the two letters were written

were such as tended to produce some difference in outward expression of emotion. In trying to answer that question we shall attempt to place ourselves at the right point of view ; and, in particular, we shall ask whether the abruptness of the conclusion in the first letter was, or was not, likely to arise from the situation and character of the letter.

In the first place we observe that Second Timothy was written after an absence of some length, when Paul had lost all hope of going to meet his " child." In i. 3 he says : " how unceasing is my remembrance of thee . . . day and night longing to see thee." Yet he knows that he is unlikely ever to revisit Timothy, and he expresses the hope that Timothy will do his best to come and see him. The tone of the Epistle is that of a man whose longing to see a dear friend has been growing with time. On the other hand the appearance is that First Timothy was written after a comparatively short separation, and that Paul expected within no long time to rejoin his pupil : " I exhorted thee to tarry at Ephesus, when I was going into Macedonia. . . . These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly." In these circumstances the ordinary man does not give expression in a letter to such strong affection and longing for his friend's company. Moreover, Second Timothy was written in expectation of early death : the writer was in prison and almost completely solitary : some of his friends had gone on missions, others had deserted him through fear or through desire to better their condition in life (like Demas). In such a position, with death before him, the ordinary man is more prone to express his desire and longing for the presence of an old and tried friend.

In the second place, Paul had a distinct reason for writing his first letter to Timothy, and that reason was not purely personal. It is evident to every reader, and has been shown at length in these pages, that the Apostle was full of anxiety

about Timothy's work in Asia ; that he was apprehensive lest his pupil's retiring disposition and want of confidence and boldness might lead to his being pushed aside and not properly respected among the clever and fluent and audacious Hellenes of the great Graeco-Asian cities ; that he was impelled by the deep affection which he felt for Timothy to write a letter of advice and stimulus. In the First Epistle the charge to Timothy as a manager of a great office guides Paul's whole thought, and the personal feeling towards a pupil and friend is submerged, though it influences the writer's mind. In the Second Epistle the affection for Timothy dominates Paul's mind, though never to the exclusion of the charge with which Timothy is entrusted.

Accordingly, the Second Epistle is far more personal to Timothy : it shows him far more as a human being in his relation to other human beings, and especially to Paul himself. Take, for example, the paragraphs from i. 3 to ii. 13 ; how full they are of touches personal to Timothy as Paul had known him, and to Paul in his relations with Timothy. So also iii. 9-17 and iv. 5-22.

In the First Epistle, on the other hand, while the personal element appears in a similar way in iv. 12-16, v. 22 f., and vi. 11-14, yet in all of these the charge entrusted to Timothy is also prominent and sometimes even dominant, whereas in the passages just mentioned from the Second Epistle, the charge appears rather as the underlying anxiety, and the personal feeling is dominant, sometimes entirely, sometimes less completely. In other parts of the Second Epistle the charge is more prominent, and the personal element almost disappears from view just as in the First : such are the paragraphs ii. 14-iii. 9 and iv. 1-5. The spirit of the two letters is quite similar, deep affection combined with great anxiety about Timothy's success ; but in the first letter the anxiety is so great as to submerge the affec-

tion, while in the second the love often dominates and overpowers the anxiety.

There is not in 1 Timothy the same repeated conjunction in one sentence of Paul and Timothy as in 2 Timothy. Where personal affection is dominant, the expression tends to bring together the two persons. Hence this difference, which any reader will be able easily to prove by statistics, is the natural result of the general situation.

This observation clears away a discrepancy as to fact, which has been found between a statement in the First and a statement in the Second Epistle. In 2 Timothy i. 6 Paul speaks of "the gift of God, which is in thee through the laying on of my hands." On the other hand, in 1 Timothy iv. 14, this same gift was given Timothy "by prophecy with the laying on of hands of the presbytery." There has been much discussion of the seeming contradiction between these two passages; but, when they are contemplated from the right point of view, there is no contradiction, and no discrepancy.

The truth is that the form of appointment always included two distinct parts: (1) the action of the Holy Spirit; (2) the action of men, viz. (Paul and) the official authorities of the Church in conjunction. The typical case is the choice of Barnabas and Saul in Acts xiii. 2. Applying this general rule of appointment to the special case of Timothy, we may say with perfect confidence, in the first place, that Paul assumed the general form to have been followed in Timothy's case, and secondly, that every reader and every Christian at that period had the same knowledge in his mind: in Timothy's appointment the Holy Spirit, Paul, and the official authorities of the congregation had all co-operated. There was no need for Paul to mention in detail all the parties concerned in the selection and consecration of his pupil. Where Paul is thinking

specially about the close personal relation between himself and Timothy, where he tends repeatedly to conjoin Timothy and himself in one sentence, he speaks simply of "the laying on of my hands," knowing that Timothy will understand the whole situation described (so in 2 Timothy i. 6): he emphasises the personal relation between himself and his pupil, and the other parties disappear out of the language. Where, however, Paul desires more to lay stress on the solemnity and the authoritative character of Timothy's appointment, he mentions the conjunction in that action of the Holy Spirit, "by prophecy," and the presbytery, while he himself sinks out of the sentence (as in 1 Timothy iv. 14). There is found to be perfect harmony between the two allusions, as soon as we place ourselves at the right point of view. The omission of details in a complicated yet familiar picture is constantly observable throughout the New Testament.

The differences between the Epistles are not only slight in themselves, but fully accounted for by the difference in Paul's position as he wrote. Amid the superficial differences the fundamental identity of feeling in the two Epistles is quite clear. The relation of Paul as master, teacher and spiritual father to Timothy is clearly shown throughout the First Epistle, from i. 1, "Timothy, my true child in faith," and i. 18, "my child Timothy," to vi. 21, "Grace be with you." While Paul is full of anxiety that Timothy shall discharge the difficult duty successfully, the anxiety is tempered by his deliberate judgment and confidence that the younger man will acquit himself well: vi. 20 f. is full of that confidence: some have erred, but Timothy will not err or misunderstand his charge. Timothy is addressed as "Man of God" (vi. 12): while Paul expected that the Asian Christians should look up to Timothy, and that Timothy should exact from them the respect due to his

position (iv. 12), he was careful to show by this address that he paid to Timothy the same respect which he expected that the Asians should pay. He knows that Timothy has been called to the eternal life and has borne testimony to the truth in the sight of many witnesses (vi. 11 f.), and he remembers "the gift that is in" him (iv. 14).

While it is true that the Second Epistle gives more prominent and emphatic expression both to the affection and to the respect which Paul felt for Timothy, the expression moves along very similar lines: "beloved child" in i. 2, "my child" in ii. 1. Timothy has "followed my teaching, conduct, purpose, faith," etc.; he knows what he has learned and been assured of from childhood; it is suggested though not expressly said, that he is the "man of God furnished completely unto every good work" in iii. 17: he is contrasted with those that "turn away their ears from the truth, and turn aside unto fables," with perfect confidence that he will "fulfil his ministry" (iv. 4 f.). Paul knows and reminds him of "the gift of God which is in thee" (i. 6).

Again, while it is clear that Paul in the First Epistle more emphatically and repeatedly expresses his anxiety in respect of Timothy's shyness, timidity, and too retiring disposition, lest these faults may betray him into shrinking from fully and efficiently discharging the duties and using the powers of his office, yet it is quite clear that in the Second Epistle the master entertains the same apprehensions about his pupil, and thinks the same warnings and encouragements are needed. Timothy must be on his guard against "a spirit of fearfulness," he must cultivate "a spirit of power and love and discipline," he must "stir up the gift of God, which is in" him, and not let it grow weak from disuse, as might happen to a person in whom too great shyness and lack of confidence hindered the expression of the gift.

There is actually a fault in Timothy which is more distinctly hinted at in the Second Epistle than in the First. The false teachers, clever, fluent and versatile, whose probable opposition and disrespect to the modest and not very highly educated Timothy caused such apprehension in Paul's mind, figure in the Second Epistle almost as prominently as in the First. The same kind of fear about Timothy's power to maintain the fight against them troubled Paul in both letters. In the Second he gives even clearer expression to one danger which might result to Timothy from this opposition, owing to his special character. One who is disposed to be too backward and slow in meeting the opposition may readily fall into the error of losing his temper : he endures it until it has provoked him to anger, and he begins the struggle only after he has been enraged, whereas " the Lord's servant must not strive, but be gentle to all, apt to teach, forbearing, in meekness correcting his opponents ; if peradventure God may give them repentance unto the knowledge of the truth and they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil " (ii. 24 ff.). Thus it might come about that Timothy, too shy and timid and (in outward appearance) meek, should fall into the opposite fault of quarrelling ; and he is cautioned against it.

If one is on the outlook for contrast and difference between the First and the Second Epistle to Timothy, a far more striking divergence of tone is apparent in another direction, which will form the subject of the next section.

The abruptness of the conclusion in First Timothy is in accordance with the rather disjointed character of the letter. As has already been pointed out, Paul wrote it probably in parts, not continuously.

XXVIII. THE THOUGHT OF DEATH IN SECOND TIMOTHY.

As was natural in Paul's situation, with his own death

imminent before him, his mind turned much, while he was writing the Second Epistle, on the thought of death and of the last times. He remembers, what was and had always been a central idea in his teaching, that Christ Jesus had "abolished death and brought life and incorruption to light."

The expression "against that day," or "at that day," referring to the Day of Judgment, occurs three times in this Epistle. Paul does not use it in First Timothy nor in any other place except 2 Thessalonians i. 10 : the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians is for different reasons much concerned with eschatological ideas, the Day of Judgment, etc.

His dead helper and comforter, Onesiphorus, is referred to in very affectionate terms i. 16 ff. : the words indeed do not inexorably prove that Onesiphorus was dead, if one is strongly inclined to judge otherwise ; but they are of such a character that I feel less doubt on the matter the oftener I read the Epistle as a whole and take them in their context and surroundings.

He thinks much in this Epistle of what comes after death. He endures all things, in order that the elect "may obtain salvation with eternal glory : faithful is the saying."¹ Then follows what has by some been taken as a hymn,—

For if we died with him, we shall also live with him :
 If we endure, we shall also reign with him :
 If we shall deny him, he also will deny us :
 If we are faithless, he abideth faithful :
 For he cannot deny himself.

¹ The punctuation which (with various good authorities) I adopt seems preferable to that of the Revisers, who take the following rhythmical words as the "faithful saying." The other places where a "faithful saying" occurs favour this : compare especially 1 Timothy iv. 8-10, also Titus iii. 8. In 1 Timothy i. 15 the "faithful saying" follows these words, but in that case it is expressed with accusative and infinitive (so also in 1 Tim. iii. 1).

In a very similar passage of First Timothy iv. 8-10, the object and purpose and effect of godliness is found in the "promise of the life which now is, and of that which is to come." Paul's mind was not so filled with the thought of death when he wrote that Epistle: if he had been then in the same frame of mind as when he wrote the Second Epistle, "the life which now is" would have had no part in his thought, and he would have regarded godliness as desirable for the eternal glory. So again in 1 Timothy vi. 19 "the time to come" and "the life which is *life* indeed" are vaguely presented to the reader because they are not at the moment vividly present in the writer's thought; it has even been suggested by some writers that the "life which is indeed" may quite well mean simply the real Christlike life on earth, but this view appears incorrect.

In the second letter to Timothy, Paul thinks much of what will happen in the last days, iii. 1-9 and iv. 3 f. There shall be a season when the power of evil is exalted, and when sin seems to be triumphant; but this shall be the beginning of the end. Then, as is invariably the case in the Apostolic writings, with the thought of that last time and the end of the world, comes also the thought that not merely is it coming, but it is even now; the evil and folly and crime of the present day is the herald and proof of what is coming; and the false teachers against whom Timothy has to contend serve as examples of the exaltation of the power of evil. The Apocalyptic visions and the eschatological teaching of the Apostle always tend to express themselves in the present tense; and this has misled many modern scholars into the false idea that the Apostles believed the end of the world to be imminent and likely to occur in their own lifetime. Those scholars misunderstand the ancient form of thought, which expresses absolute certainty and eternal truth under the form of present time.

Similarly in iv. 1-4 the thought of the Judgment Day and the appearing and kingdom of Christ on earth forthwith calls up the associated idea of the temporary triumph of evil which will precede and herald it; and this triumph is described after the analogy of the false teachers at the present moment. But in the First Epistle vi. 14, the appearing of Christ is remote, "He shall show it in its own times"; and it is only spoken of as the term of an irreproachable career. The growth and power of evil is mentioned also in First Timothy, but simply as a fact of the future and not as connected with the appearing of Christ in Judgment (iv. 1): it is regarded as the natural and foreseen development of the false teaching, which must proceed in its course of wrong.

That the same person should in one mood and frame of mind think and speak of the Judgment Day as distant, and in another mood as imminent and immediate, is thoroughly characteristic of human nature and of the New Testament style.

The words, both verb and noun, for death occur far more frequently in Second than in First Timothy: *θάνατος*, *νεκρός*, *ἀποθνήσκειν* (in a compound) are only found in the second letter.

In the First Epistle Christ is thought of mainly as the Saviour of men in the world, see ii. 4, iii. 15 f., iv. 10, v. 4 ("unto eternal life," however, in i. 16). He shows what one must do to be saved, and how one must live to be saved.

There is nothing to wonder at in this general contrast between the Epistles: it only mirrors the difference between the situation and emotion of Paul on the two occasions. The words of 2 Timothy iv. 6-9 show what he thought of his situation then, "I am already being offered, and the time of my departure is come." In the first letter the thought of stimulating and encouraging Timothy to per-

form successfully his duties in Asia overpowers every other thought. Timothy must work right on to the end. In the second letter the same thought is not lacking ; it appears constantly throughout the first four chapters ; but the expression of it is coloured in a totally different way, and the explanation of this colouring does not become apparent until we come to iv. 6-9. Then we see that the idea of iv. 6 ff. has been latent in Paul's mind throughout the first few chapters. This idea constitutes the unity of the Second Epistle ; it lies hid for a time, traceable only through the tone in which other ideas are expressed ; then it forces itself to the surface, and Paul thereafter gives free course to the consequences which it brings with it. He would fain see Timothy before he dies.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE CAREFULNESS OF LUKE.

III.

PHILIP AND THE EUNUCH.

THE form in which the narrative of the Eunuch's conversion is introduced, "An angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying," is one that admits of two interpretations, either that the angel was a man sent by God,¹ as in Acts v. 19, xii. 7 ; in which case we compare Hosea xii. 4 and Genesis xxxii. 24, where the angel is a man : or that the angel had appeared to Philip as to a prophet in a vision. The latter is the more probable for this reason. When St. Luke has described Peter's vision at Joppa he proceeds to describe Peter's subsequent action as prompted by *the Spirit*. "The

¹ Compare what is said by Justin M., *Dial.* 75. "It has been shown in Isaiah (vi. 8) that those who are *sent* to *announce* His messages are called both *angels* and *apostles* of God."

Spirit said " (Acts x. 19, xi. 12). Now in Philip's case he represents *the Spirit* as guiding the action (viii. 29, 39) in just such a way as to presuppose the vision. Nor is Luke the only writer who follows the same use of terms. The great vision of Revelation i. is followed by seven admonitions, each one containing a characteristic feature of the vision and delivered by the Spirit: "Hear what *the Spirit saith* unto the Churches" is the practical sequel of the vision. So again at the close of the Revelation (xxii. 16, 17) the practical summary of the whole as the message of God's angel is: "The *Spirit* and the Bride say, Come."

But probably there will be less unwillingness to admit that Philip was a prophet, subject to the conditions of prophecy as a divinely appointed order, and living in a prophetic atmosphere, when it is remembered that his four daughters were prophetesses (Acts xxi. 9).

The chief difficulty in the narrative lies in the expression, "this is desert," as the conclusion of the angel's speech. Most commentators follow Robinson, who says (*Biblical Researches*, ii. 514): "*αὕτη* ('this') may refer to the way or to Gaza. The facts . . . render it improbable that the city is here meant; although there is a possibility that Luke might have written just after the destruction of Gaza about A.D. 65; and thus have been led from the novelty of the event to mention it. On this hypothesis, the words must belong, not to the angel, but to Luke, as a mere parenthetical remark." (But if so, it would be also a frigid and irrelevant archaeological remark, such as Luke has introduced nowhere else. "Gaza has since been destroyed, and is now deserted"! He ought to have said "now." But the "now" would have held good for a very few years, for Gaza quickly recovered its position. All that Josephus says is that the Jews, enraged at the infamous misgovernment of Gessius Florus, were ravaging

cities, overthrowing some and burning others, and "besides burning Sebaste and Ascalon they *were by way of destroying* (κατέσκαπτον) Anthedon (close to Gaza) and Gaza." (*B. J.*, II. xviii. 1.) Also "there exist coins of Gaza struck in honour of Titus, which show at least that the city was still a place of importance very soon after 70 A.D." (But in any case Gaza, the key of Palestine and the key of Egypt, the great calling-place of caravans, could never have been described as desert, and St. Luke knew this.) "More probable, therefore, is it that the term 'desert' is to be referred to the road on which Philip should find the Eunuch, and was indeed meant as a description, to point out to him the particular road, where he should fall in with the latter."

Robinson then proceeds to decide in favour of the road through Eleutheropolis, as leading "through a country without villages inhabited only by nomadic Arabs. The chief difficulty has ever been to show how this region, *in itself so fertile*, could be called *desert*. That the district was at that time in like manner deserted is not improbable. In the days of the Maccabees, the Idumeans had taken possession of Judea as far north as Hebron . . . where they were subdued and compelled to embrace Judaism." Here we must observe that Josephus says, "They submitted to circumcision and the Jewish laws, and from that time forward they were Jews." So much so that in 70 A.D. their leader Simon said, "We Idumeans will stand by the house of God and draw our swords on behalf of our common country" (*B. J.*, IV. iv. 4). Now it is not probable that the country, rich and fertile as it was, inhabited by these Idumeans, who had settled there for 170 years before Philip's journey and become partially civilized and circumcised and eager patriots, however cruel and sanguinary (*Jos. B. J.*, IV. v.) should be called "desert" just because their fore-

fathers had been a migratory horde. Robinson's conclusion—though one must hesitate to differ from any of the splendid results of that bold and original explorer—seems to be invalidated by the latter account of the Idumeans in Josephus. We desiderate evidence for the admitted misnomer of that road being called desert.

However, Robinson's interpretation had usually been followed till a few years ago Dr. G. Adam Smith revived the opinion that "desert" was applied to old Gaza, as distinguished from new Gaza, following Schürer,¹ but not his conclusion. The existence of "New Gaza," and inferentially its distinction from Old or Desert Gaza, rests upon the evidence of an anonymous (of what date?) geographical fragment. He also considers that the repeated mention by Josephus of Gaza as "maritime" shows that when rebuilt by Gabinius in B.C. 57 it was "rebuilt on a new site and possibly close to the harbour." Now Schürer, who holds that "desert" applies to the road, says the port was not New Gaza, nor was it Old Gaza, and while he admits that Strabo knows nothing of New Gaza he follows the anonymous fragment of unknown date in believing its existence. Colonel Conder has shown that the port of Gaza (Ghūzzeh) was Limên (El-Mineh)—a Greek name, probably therefore in use in Philip's time. (*Tent-work in Palestine*, ii. 168.) But the reader of Josephus will see that what he says thrice over (*Antt.* XIV. iv. 4, XV. vii. 3, *B. J.*, I. vii. 7) is, not that there was any distinction between a maritime Gaza and another, a "desert" Gaza, but simply that certain towns named were inland (Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippo, Pella, Samaria), and others were maritime (Gaza, Joppa, Caesarea, Dora). Naturally, then, a city having a port, as Gaza had, being itself three miles from the sea—Arrian says 2½ miles—

¹ *The Jewish People*, E.T. Div. II. vol. i. 71, misprinted in *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 187, ed. 1894.

is classed as maritime. It is not legitimate to argue from the relative term to the absolute, nor from the general to the particular, in order to prove that New Gaza was maritime while Old desert Gaza was on the ancient caravan route. Meanwhile, the proof of the existence of New Gaza is of a shadowy kind.

Besides this, even if there were a place New Gaza in Philip's time, we should have to suppose the angel said: "Arise, and go toward the South, unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem to Gaza, that is to say, Old or Desert Gaza, not the New or Maritime, which is two miles off the main thoroughfare." There seems something peculiarly pedantic in such a deliverance. The precision would be utterly needless, for the road from Samaria or from Jerusalem to either Gaza was one and the same. There is nothing in the narrative to imply that the meeting took place precisely at Old Gaza. But what is more important—there is no evidence that Old Gaza, if it existed as such, was called Desert Gaza. It was not possible that any considerable period of time should pass without there being a Gaza on the main thoroughfare for caravans to and from Egypt; and, if a new Gaza were built, it would soon be contiguous to the Old, which would probably not be called "Desert." And this is completely in accordance with Schürer's conclusion that "both Old and New Gaza lay twenty stadia ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles) inland," since both must have been on the road.

The third solution, therefore, that there was a "Desert Gaza" seems to break down as much as the other two, that the road was desert, and that the city was desert. We might be inclined to say that here St. Luke is careless; he does not care to say which he means, or what he means, or why he has said or reported, "This is desert." He does not care to avoid the charge of irrelevancy even if it be unjust. And yet I do not think the assertion would be

right. There is a simple explanation ready to those who will adopt the prophet's point of view. St. Luke did not write for the critical and uncritical of the twentieth century : he wrote for the understanding Christian of the first ; he wrote for Theophilus, and such as he was ; he wrote for those who were not far removed from the atmosphere that the prophets breathed. Such readers might be expected to be acquainted with the Argument from Prophecy, and to know that the New Testament is lying hid in the Old, and the Old, when fulfilled, lies open in the New ; that the first Christians being prophets were seeking for fulfilments of their Bible everywhere ; and were applying events to texts and texts to events, even future events, to a degree that we may sometimes think to be forced, but when we find them in the New Testament among the foundations of the faith, we often feel them to be touching and wonderful.

St. Peter, as was shown in a former paper on this subject, had certainly been pondering on Isaiah, and it is the most natural supposition that, whether in Peter's company or not, Philip did likewise. If so, he would find some very remarkable indications that the way of God's elect was outside of Jerusalem, from which he and his fellow-disciples *had been scattered abroad* (R.V. But *dispersed* is the only right translation, Acts viii. 4). His Greek bible said, "Rejoice, O thirsty *desert*, let the desert exult and blossom as the lily" (Isa. xxxv. 1). But one of the most remarkable lodes in a whole mine of prophecy is a line in Isaiah xvi. 8 : "Wander ye the *desert* ; they that have been made *apostles* are (or were) *left behind in* (? the city), for they cross (or crossed) *the sea*." Let us take this and set it beside the angel's "this is desert," and beside the statement of Acts viii. 1, "So all *were dispersed* throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria except the apostles." It needs hardly to be said that the context, though referring to Moab, and there-

fore, to speak geographically, remote, offered no impediment to the Christian prophets finding their own fulfilment and their own guidance in the words of the text. Had the context been thoroughly weighed in the case of any and every prophecy of the Old Testament, it is not too much to say that future generations would never have heard of the Argument from Prophecy ; there would have been no such Argument at all. Only the intense belief that “ whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through endurance and through comfort of the Scriptures might have hope,” enabled the apostles and enables ourselves to endow any prophecy of the Old Testament with its secondary meaning ; and yet this, more often than not, is actually so powerful as to obscure the primary meaning. The same mental process in the apostles which has given us the fulfilments in Christ of the texts of Isaiah and the Psalms as expounded in Acts i.-iv. and elsewhere, was beyond all possibility of doubt active in dealing with numbers of other passages of Holy Writ, some of which can be recovered by diligent study on our part. It seems certain that Isaiah xvi. 8 did not elude the diligent eye of the apostles. It is certain that it precisely describes what they did and what Philip the evangelist did. He did *wander*, or pass without an exact knowledge of his destination, *over* a tract of land said to be *desert* ; the *apostles* were *left* permanently (*ἐγκατελείφθησαν*) *in the city* ; they had *passed through the sea* in the figurative sense of being buried with Christ by baptism into His death. For it is exactly in that sense that St. Paul explains Deuteronomy xxx. 13, “ Neither is it beyond the sea that thou shouldest say, Who will go over the sea for us and bring it to us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it ? ” That is, he says (Rom. x. 7, using “ *go down into the deep* ” apparently as a middle term between “ the sea ” and “ Hades,” the grave),

“to bring Christ back again from the dead.” This is one of the most forced applications of prophecy to the modern mind ; but it was in St. Paul’s way, it was in the Christian prophet’s way. And accompanied as it is by scores of similar interpretations, it forbids us to object that any use of ancient prophecy for Christian purposes is forced.

Should it be objected that the fruitful and palmy and populous Gaza could never be called desert, and that the road to it through cornfields and olive-yards and pastures was equally the reverse of a desert, the answer is sufficient, that any temporary solitude or quiet place can become the desert of prophecy when the conditions of prophecy are fulfilled or to be fulfilled. We rather ask : Had it room for an evangelist to wander ? Was it to become a scene of joy to him ? Was it *bereft* (ἐρήμη) of that which he had to bestow ? And on the other hand we ask, Have we not a very familiar parallel to this very use ? Was it possible for John Baptist’s voice to reach the crowds so long as it was the voice of one crying *in the desert* ? Was Jordan bank anything like a desert—that jungle of luxuriant vegetation ? Yet that was where he preached, and where they came to him.

And then Philip read, moreover, in the same passage of Isaiah which John Baptist quoted : “I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel, who saveth thee : I make *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* an exchange for thee, and Syene on behalf of thee ” (xliii. 3). “I will say to the north-wind, Come ; and to the *south*-wind, Forbid not : bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth, all men who have called upon my name ” (xliii. 6). “And I will make a way in the *desert* ” (xliii. 19, 20) ; “for I make in the *desert* a water, and streams in the waterless place, to give drink to my race whom I have chosen.”

Was it possible for Philip to come to any other conclusion

than this, that the desert was intended in the purpose of God to occupy a place that it had never held before? For some reason or other in the divine Counsel the persecution that arose about Stephen had resulted in the removal of himself and others from the busy haunts of men, and it seemed that they were now more than ever commanded to journey to the desert, and there fulfil His purpose. The desert was on the south and also on the east of Judea. But there was a passage in Isaiah (li. 3) which also spoke of the west: "And now I will encourage thee, O Sion, and I encourage all her desert places, and I will make her desert places as a paradise, and those toward the *west* as a paradise of the Lord." This would seem to Philip to illustrate an earlier verse: "There shall be a clean way there, and it shall be called an holy way, and an unclean man shall not pass by there, nor shall an unclean way be there: but they that *have been dispersed abroad* (οἱ διεσπαρμένοι) shall journey upon it, they shall not go astray" (xxxv. 8). This is another very remarkable fact, that St. Luke thrice in this connexion (Acts xi. 19, viii. 1, 4) applies the term "dispersed" to those exiled members of the Church in Jerusalem; he implies that they formed a fresh Dispersion (διασπορά) of the people of God, who were "sown abroad" as seeds of a future harvest of faith. Had the only idea that St. Luke cared to convey been that they were "scattered," as the Revised Version says, he would have said ἐσκορπίσθησαν, διεσκορπίσθησαν.

It may be worth while to observe in passing that the Jews "of the Dispersion" are those who are commonly, though not quite exactly, included in the term Hellenists, simply because their natural language was the *lingua franca* Greek, which Alexander's conquests had made universal. Every one of the writers of the New Testament was a Hellenist, but not every one was a Jew of the Disper-

sion. St. Peter was not,¹ while his readers were. St. James was not, while his readers were. But the particular reason why St. Luke used the word διασπαρέντες, "dispersed," was probably this : he found it in Isaiah applied to a condition of men of which he saw the "fulfilment" in the very condition of Philip and the disciples of Jerusalem ; they were "the dispersed." The question arises whether they then, as well as the author of Acts writing years later, were conscious of themselves as "the dispersed." The tendency of criticism in the present day is to inquire concerning every paragraph and every verse, not merely who wrote it, but who provided the material for writing it. And here the choice will be merely whether the term which is thrice applied to the fugitive evangelists is St. Luke's own or his informant's, i.e., St. Philip's. If we consider it to be the latter's term, we should then hold that he was all the more convinced that he and the rest were to be led by the guidance of Isaiah xxxv., and that his mind was prepared for the angel's command, that he, as one of the dispersed, was to journey along a road of the desert. He would take the angel's meaning to be, "This land (sc. ἡ γῆ) is the 'desert' of prophecy, of which you have read in Isaiah."

If we further ask whether there were materials in his reading of prophecy that would suggest that the desert of prophecy lay towards one point of the compass in particular, we have the west and the south indicated in Isaiah, as we have seen ; and Egypt and Ethiopia and Syene have been named as an "exchange" for Israel, as though they should supply that which Israel forfeited. But the road to Gaza was the road to Egypt, and the enormous Jewish population of Egypt, which probably far exceeded that of Judea at

¹ On this subject see the valuable essay of Dr. T. K. Abbott, *To what extent was Greek the language of Galilee in the time of Christ?* in his "Essays chiefly on the Original Texts," etc., 1891.

this time, had made the worship of the God of Israel widely known among the heathen of the Nile Valley, so that the pilgrimages from there to the Temple at Jerusalem must have been frequent, and the pilgrims numerous, interesting, and sometimes individually remarkable. This might seem to be indicated in Isaiah xliii. 16, 19, "Thus saith the Lord, . . . who bringeth forth *chariots* and a horse and a mighty crowd. . . . Remember not the first things . . . behold I make new things . . . and I will make a way in the desert." The fact of these pilgrimages seemed to Philip to be a fulfilment of a prophecy, which it is possible was only a description of the practice of pilgrimage in Isaiah's own earlier time: "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Egypt laboureth, and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and the Sabaeans, men tall of stature, shall cross over to thee . . . and shall *worship* thee and pray in thee" (Isa. xlv. 14).

It seems inevitable that after the meeting Philip would ponder the words of Isaiah concerning "*the eunuchs* that observe my Sabbaths and choose my will and cling to my covenant. . . I will lead them into my holy mountain, and *make them glad* in my house of prayer . . . for my house shall be called an house of prayer to all nations, saith the Lord who assembleth *the dispersed* of Israel" (Isa. lvi. 4, 7, 8). They shall find rejoicing and exultation in it (li. 3). "For ye shall come forth in gladness, and be taught in joy" (lv. 12). "Behold, *proselytes* shall *come unto thee* through me, and shall dwell *beside thee* and flee to thee for refuge" (liv. 15). "O ye that thirst, *journey to the water*" (lv. 1). "Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not . . . for many are the *children of the desert* more than the [land] that has the man" (liv. 1). The baptism by the wayside (for "as they *journeyed* by the way they came to a certain *water*," Acts viii. 36) of this proselyte, the Ethiopian eunuch, by the evangelist whom he had called to his side *in the chariot* to instruct

him, would indeed seem to have been foretold in the prophet's words as they shone forth on the pages adjacent to that which told in prophecy of Jesus. Well might he hazard the statement that "the eunuch went on his way *rejoicing*." The student of St. Luke will find in proportion to the carefulness of his study that the sense of St. Luke's carefulness grows upon him, though it is not precisely of the kind that we demand of a modern historian, and involves for its fuller comprehension a slight effort of mind in order to adopt the author's point of view. No such effort was needed by Theophilus to whom St. Luke wrote, if we suppose that he was an instructed Christian somewhere about the years 70-80.

E. C. SELWYN.

LEXICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.*

XXI.

ποταμοφόρητος.—Grimm's entry ("Besides only in Hesychius") would suggest that this compound was coined by John: it is just the kind of word we might easily suppose coined. But it occurs in AP 85¹⁶ (78 A.D.), probably before the Apocalypse was written; also in StrP 5¹⁰ (as read by Wilcken, *Archiv* v. 254), two centuries later. The list of Biblical *ἄπαξ εἰρημένα* is getting deplorably select!

πραγματεύομαι.—As words found only in Luke are often accused of being "choice," it is well to record that this is a common commercial word: we need not give citations now. *Πράκτωρ*, another Lucan word, is even more abundantly attested; while *πράσσω*, "exact," may also be illustrated.

προάγω.—For the intransitive use as in Mark vi. 45, we

* For abbreviations see the February and March (1908) *EXPOSITOR*, pp. 170, 262.

may compare *Syll.* 316²⁵ (ii/ B.C.), *Τιμόθεον . . . ἐκέλευσα προάγειν εἰς Ῥώμην*, “bade him go before me”—an oath is exacted that he will appear on a certain day. For the passive see BU 1060 as quoted under *καταπονοῦμαι*, and *Syll.* 326¹⁹ under *ἡλικία*, both in *Notes* xv. The simple sense “preceding, previous,” belonging to the participle in Hebrews vii. 18, is well shown in *IMA* iii. 247, *τὰ προάγοντα ψαφίσματα*.

πρόβατον.—That this means specifically *sheep*, as in New Testament, and not *goats* as well, is shown by Wilcken, *Ostr.* i. 286. We may cite also PP ii. 22, *βοῦς ἢ ὑποζύγιον (ass, as in New Testament) ἢ πρόβατον*.

προλαμβάνω.—In *Syll.* 804 (from the Asclepieum at Epidaurus, date perhaps ii/A.D.) we find this word three times meaning *eat* (or *drink*): *ἴ τυρόν καὶ ἄρτον προλαβεῖν, σέλεινα μετὰ θρίδακος, ὃ κιστρίου προλαμβάνειν τὰ ἄκρα, ὃ γάλα μετὰ μέλιτος προλαβεῖν*. Dittenberger quotes Wilamowitz as holding that the temporal force of the *προ-* had worn off, Baunack as finding the idea of *praeferre*, while he himself thinks it a mistake for *προσλ.*, which is used of taking food in later Greek. One naturally thinks of 1 Corinthians xi. 21, where no part of the point lies in the “forestalling” of others: the gravamen of Paul’s charge is that there was “no *Lord’s* supper to eat,” “every one devours *his own* supper at the meal” (brought with him in a *κίστη*—cf. the last scene of Aristophanes’ *Acharnians*). If the prevalent idea of the word was *taking eagerly, seizing*, we can see the relation to the meaning found in Galatians vi. 1: the weakening of the *προ-* force in it is paralleled in the history of *φθάνω*. We may add some further citations. PP iii. 43 (iii/B.C.), *τὸ ἀργύριον ὃ ἂν προειληφότες ᾤσιν*, “received previously,” is of course three centuries before the New Testament. Earlier still, and in Attic dialect rather than *Κοινή*, is the immense inscription of temple accounts from

Eleusis, *Syll.* 587¹¹ (328 B.C.), money paid ἀρ]χιτέκτονι, ὁ προέλαβεν Λυκούργου κελεύσαντος, “received in advance.” OP 928⁸ (ii/iii A.D.), ἵνα ἐὰν δοκιμάσης ποιήσης πρὶν προλημφθῆναι, “that if you think fit you may act before she is entrapped” (G.H.).

προλέγω.—The force of πρό in composition is raised again by this word, which may be found in BU 1050²⁷ (time of Augustus), a marriage contract: this contract is to be deposited ἐν ἡμέραις χρηματιζούσαις πέντε ἀφ’ ἧς ἀν ἀλλήλοις προείπωσιν, “within the five days named from the day on which they settle it with one another.” Here the πρό simply implies that the terms of the contract have been discussed *beforehand* and then embodied in the legal document: we may compare προγράφω, which in the papyri regularly means “write before,” generally in an earlier part of the same document.

προνοέω, πρόνοια.—See *Notes* iii. for the phrase πρόνοϊαν ποιούμαι, as in Romans xiii. 14: add HbP 79³ (c. 260 B.C.) ὧν πρόνοϊαν ποιεῖ, “the objects of your care” (G.H.); OP 899¹⁷ (c. 200 A.D.), ὅπως ὁ ἐκάστης κώμης πραγματικὸς πρόνοϊαν ποιήσῃ[ται . . .]; PFi 2²⁰⁷ (265 A.D.), τῆς τοῦ . . . ταμείου π. ποιήσῃσθε, etc. A corresponding phrase π. γενέσθαι c. gen. was apparently meant by the author of BU 1060²⁷ (i/B.C.). The verb is common in act. and mid.: note *Syll.* 356³⁸ (a letter of Augustus) you would do right τῇ ἐμῇ π[ερὶ τοῦ]των γνώμῃ προνοήσαντες, with a dative possibly encouraged by the Latin *providere*.

πρός.—The special use in Hebrews iv. 13 was illustrated in *Notes* iii. with a Christian inscr., to which add *C. and B.* no. 563 (ii. 652 f.). Ramsay notes there that the formula ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν “was not pagan, and was in many cases demonstrably Christian,” though not so in this case. He thinks it may have been adopted by the Christians from the Jews, or have arisen simul-

taneously among them both in iii/A.D. For the phrase in Hebrews *l.c.* we may compare HbP 53⁴ (246 B.C.), *πειρῶ οὖν ἀσφαλῶς ὥς πρὸς σὲ τοῦ λόγου ἐσομένου*, "Do you therefore endeavour to obtain good security, knowing that you will be held accountable" (G. H.). So elsewhere. The figure is accordingly commercial, and (like that in Rom. xiv. 12) may well go back to our Lord's parable in Matthew xxv. 19.

προσαγορεύω.—The word only occurs once, and that in *Hebrews* (v. 10); but for all that it is not only literary, as several papyri can be quoted. Readers who propose to use Hellenistic in their correspondence may like to know the phrase for "give my very kind regards to . . .": BU 1080^{23f.} (? iii/A.D.) Heracleides, who can quote Homer but cannot spell quite correctly, addresses *κύριέ μου νιέ*, and ends with *προσαγόρευε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πολλὰ τὴν σοὶ φιλτάτην σύνευνον Μεθών*.

προσαγωγή.—Professor Mahaffy in PP iii. 107c (p. 262) says the word sometimes means a *landing-stage*. In the same volume, 112 f. *vs.* ii. 3 (p. 290), *εἰς τομὴν καὶ π. χάλικος*, it must mean *carting*. That is, it signifies either the *place* or the *process* τοῦ προσάγειν τί τι. The three Pauline *exx.* come well from the former: *διὰ Χριστοῦ* as the Way we are safely led to the *χάρις*, the home of peace in which we abide (Rom. v. 2), to the Father, to whom He only can bring us (Eph. ii. 18, cf John xiv. 6)—*ἐν Χριστῷ* we have our freedom of speech and confident place of access to God.

προσδέομαι.—That the *πρός* is not devoid of force, as the English would suggest, may be seen from some of the papyri that contain the word. The Epicurean maxim to which Acts xvii. 25 alludes is (in the words of Lucretius) "*nihil indiga nostri*," God "needs" nothing "additional," i.e. nothing that can be brought to Him by anything out-

side Himself. The *πρός* has no visible force in Witk. 87⁸ (= TbP 59⁸, 99 B.C.), *ἐν οἷς ἐὰν προσδέησθέ μου*, "whatever you may require" (G. H.). But PP ii. 37, *ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς οὐδεμιᾶς ὑπερβολῆς προσδεῖται*, "allows of no further delay" (Mahaffy); PFi 1⁶ (153 A.D.)—so 81¹¹ (103 A.D.)—*μὴ προσδεόμενοις ἀνανεώσεως*, "needing no renewal"; *ib.* 56¹⁸ (iii/A.D.) = BU 832³⁰ (113 A.D., *ex em.* Vitelli), *καὶ ἐν οἷς ἄλλοις αὐτοῦ προσδ[έομ]αι περὶ τούτων*; LIP 5¹³ (259 B.C.), *διὰ τὸ προσδεῖσθαι*, "a *encore* besoin." We may compare *προσοφείλω* (Philem. 19), a very common word, with the *πρός* well marked.

προσδέχομαι.—HbP 58⁸ (244 B.C.), *τοῦτο δέ σοι προσδέχομαι* is rendered by G. H., "and for this sum I will be responsible (?) to you," comparing PP iii. 64 (b)⁶ (*ἐξεδέξατο*) and 81(b)¹: literally this is "I will *accept* this for you." This seems the best meaning in Acts xxiv. 15 (R.V. *margin*). In *Ostr.* 1089⁵ (134 B.C.), *προστέχομαι ἄς δέτωκας Ῥαδάνω (δραχμὰς) υν* the writer (a Welshman we should think, apart from our knowledge of illiterate Egyptian orthography) means "I am *waiting for* the 450 dr. you have given to R.": no. 1090 may tell us that he got them, but the left-hand half of this potsherd has returned to its earth.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

*THE VIRGIN BIRTH IN RELATION TO THE
INTERPRETATION OF ISAIAH VII. 14.*

IN common with all ancient writings, the Gospels contain many passages that are obscure and difficult of interpretation; their meaning is ambiguous, or eludes us altogether. The narrative of the birth of our Lord in Matthew i. 15-23 is not one of these; its meaning, so far as its main point and purpose is concerned, is clear as daylight, admits of no possibility of misunderstanding. It is accurately paraphrased in the clear and precise clauses of the Apostles' Creed which assert that Jesus Christ was "conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary."

This narrative closes with a reference to Isaiah vii. 14; the circumstances of the birth of Jesus Christ as just related were such as they were in order that "it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying, 'Behold, the virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel.'"

The absence from the narrative of ambiguity extends to this use of the passage from Isaiah, if we assume that this part of the Gospel was written from the first in Greek; in that case there is no reasonable doubt that the writer means us to find one point of the fulfilment in the fact that Mary, like the mother in the prophecy, in conceiving and giving birth to her child still remained *παρθένος*, virgin. If, however, the narrative goes back to an Aramaic source, some ambiguity and uncertainty arise; if the word represented in the Greek by *παρθένος* was in the source *בתולה*, as it is in

the Syriac version of Isaiah vii. 14, well and good ; the source was as unambiguous as the Gospel in its present Greek form. If, however, the word was, as in the Targum, **עלימתא**, the passage quoted contained no reference to virginity, for **עלימתא** is a word of wide meaning, applicable indeed to virgins, but applicable also to women who were not virgin, applicable even to women guilty of unchastity ; in the Targum of Judges, chap. 19, it is applied to the Levite's concubine who had proved unfaithful to him.

Be this as it may, the main point of the Gospel narrative is to assert that Jesus Christ was born of a virgin mother ; considerable ingenuity may be required to shew that this is the meaning of the genealogy that precedes the narrative, but no ingenuity can place any other meaning than this on the narrative itself.

When we pass from the interpretation of the narrative to consider its origin and to account for that being said which is there said, we immediately pass out of the clear and lucid into the doubtful and obscure ; we are in the region of controversy and face to face with one of the most keenly disputed questions connected with Christian creeds. It is not my purpose here to take side in that controversy, to attack or to defend the assertions of the Apostles' Creed which correspond so faithfully to the meaning of the narrative in the Gospel. I propose to discuss merely a detail ; but this detail, if it can be cleared up, leaves the way more open for arriving at a conclusion on the ultimate question.

There are two ways of explaining the narrative in St. Matthew i. 18-23 ; it may be (a) a record of objective historical fact, or (b) a record of belief that did not correspond to objective historical fact. To establish the probability of the first of these explanations it is necessary in the first place to meet various objections, which are excellently stated in the articles *Mary* and *Nativity* in the *Encyclopædia*

Biblica, and which are based in the main on apparently conflicting evidence, especially in other parts of the Gospels and in the Epistles of St. Paul ; and in the second place it is necessary to establish a probable line of transmission by which evidence of the fact may have passed from the persons concerned in the circumstances of the birth to the writer of the Gospel. If the fact cannot be established, then it is necessary to inquire how the belief arose. If, apart from assuming that the facts actually were as stated in the narrative, no probable cause for the belief can be found, a certain presumption in favour of the facts, some offset, whether sufficient or not, against the historical difficulties already alluded to, might not unreasonably be claimed.

To account for the belief that Jesus Christ was born of a virgin two causes have been assigned by those who deny the fact : (1) It has been traced to the direct and immediate influence, in the Christian circles where the story of the birth of Jesus arose, of *pagan* ideas of the generation of heroes by gods and their birth by women ; or (2) to the influence of Jewish beliefs, and in particular of a pre-Christian Jewish belief that the Messiah would be born of a virgin. Into the adequacy or correctness of the first of these causes I do not propose to inquire now. I confine myself to an examination of the second, and here indeed to a particular line of argument that has been advanced, viz., the significance of Isaiah vii. 14 as originally written or subsequently interpreted. And this after all is not so narrow a treatment of the subject as might at first sight appear. For in the presentation of this view Isaiah vii. 14 has been forced into great prominence and, as it seems to me, with good reason. Isaiah vii. 14 in the LXX is by far the most promising piece of evidence that has been adduced in favour of the theory that before the Birth and

Ministry of our Lord there was current among the Jews a belief that the Messiah would be born of a virgin, that, as Professor Gunkel ¹ puts it, the Virgin Birth was already a part of Christological dogma. Archdeacon Allen ² has, indeed, adduced in addition two passages of doubtful relevance from the book of Enoch and also Revelation xii. 1-5; and sixteen years ago Mr. F. P. Badham collected ³ afresh passages from the Rabbinic writings which used to play a part in Christian polemic against the Jews; but these are for the most part obscure in meaning, of doubtful date, and even in some cases of doubtful genuineness.

I will now give two quotations, allowing myself to italicise certain clauses, to shew the importance attached to the interpretation of Isaiah vii. 14 in this controversy. The first is from Professor Harnack: "Although Jesus had in principle abolished the methods of pedantry, the casuistic treatment of the law, and the subtleties of prophetic interpretation, yet the old Scholastic exegesis remained active in the Christian communities, above all, the unhistorical local method in the exposition of the Old Testament, both allegoristic and Haggadic. . . . The traditional view exercised its influence on the exposition of the Old Testament, as well as on the representations of the person, fate and deeds of Jesus, especially in those cases where the question was about the proof of the fulfilment of prophecy, that is, of the Messiahship of Jesus. Under the impression made by the history of Jesus it gave to many Old Testament passages a sense that was foreign to them, and, on the other hand, enriched the life of Jesus with new facts. . . . Examples of both in the New Testament are numerous. See above all Matthew

¹ H. Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtliche Verständnis des N.T.* p. 69.

² *International Critical Commentary on Matthew*, p. 19; but see R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 164.

³ *Academy*, June 8, 1895, pp. 485-487.

i., ii. *Even the belief that Jesus was born of a virgin sprang from Isaiah vii. 14.*"¹

I quote next from Archdeacon Allen, who agrees with Harnack that the belief in the virgin birth of the Messiah was current before, though he does not admit that it also created, the belief in the virgin birth of Jesus. He writes : "The opinion of Usener (*Encyc. Bibl.*, iii. 3350) that in the narrative of the supernatural birth 'we unquestionably enter the circle of pagan ideas' and that 'the idea is quite foreign to Judaism,' is to be decisively rejected if it be intended to carry with it the inference that this idea had not already been used in the interests of Jewish Messianic speculation before the Christian era. It is probably to be found in Isaiah vii. 14 and Micah v. 3, and *certainly* in the Alexandrian Jewish interpretation of Isaiah vii. 14 as represented in the LXX." And again : "The stories of the supernatural birth might therefore very well have originated in Palestine in the first half of the first century A.D. . . . The universal belief in the supernatural birth of gods and heroes *as represented in Judaism by, e.g., Isaiah vii. 14 LXX*, would have been quite sufficient to supply the central idea *without any recourse to non-Jewish forms of this speculation.*"

With these representative passages before us we can see that the crucial question is this : Did a current interpretation of Isaiah vii. 14 create the belief in the Virgin Birth of the Lord, or did that belief create the interpretation of Isaiah vii. 14 as a prophecy of a virgin birth ? There is no question, as Harnack has pointed out in the passage already quoted, that the facts of the life of, or beliefs about, Jesus created fresh Christian interpretations, alien to the intention of the original writers of Scripture, unknown to earlier

¹ *History of Dogma* (E. T.), i. pp. 99-100, with note 1 on p. 100. Just below, moreover, Harnack uses of Isaiah vii. 14 the expression that it is "a complete explanation" of the belief in the Virgin Birth of Jesus.

Jewish interpreters. The use of Psalm viii. in the Epistle to the Hebrews (c. ii.) may serve as an example; is the use of Isaiah vii. 14 in Matthew i. 23 another? In any case the mere use of Isaiah vii. 14 in Matthew i. 23 cannot suffice to *prove* that that passage had previously received from *Jewish* interpreters a Messianic interpretation. It must be matter of inquiry whether such an interpretation previously existed. And to this point I now turn.

In order to establish the theory that Isaiah vii. 14 created the belief in the Virgin Birth of our Lord, it is not of course necessary to shew that Isaiah vii. 14 *originally* referred to a virgin birth; Harnack, for example, who considers a previously existing *interpretation* of Isaiah vii. 14 a complete explanation of the Virgin Birth of Jesus Christ, holds that that passage *originally* contained no such reference. All that is necessary is to prove that Isaiah vii. 14 bore this meaning to the Jews in the first century A.D. Failing direct evidence of what the *Jewish* interpretation of Isaiah vii. 14 in the first century A.D. was, a presumption that it was then understood of the Virgin Birth of the Messiah might be created by shewing that the passage had at some time previous borne that meaning. So far as I am aware there is no direct evidence; no Jewish source of the first century A.D. refers to Isaiah vii. 14 in such a way as to imply the interpretation placed on it. We must examine then (1) the meaning of the original passage; (2) any relevant references to it in the Old Testament; (3) the passage as translated in the LXX.

A few years ago it would have seemed like flogging a dead horse to criticise the view that Isaiah vii. 14 in Hebrew referred to birth by a virgin; a somewhat general agreement had been reached among Protestant scholars that, whatever the ambiguities of the passage, it certainly did not refer to an abnormal, or supernatural,

birth. But recently a modified form or variation of the traditional Christian interpretation of this passage has gained some favour; the traditional Christian interpretation saw in Isaiah vii. 14 an anticipation of the Virgin Birth of our Lord, a record of that event written seven centuries before it occurred; the modern theory to which I refer sees in that passage the reminiscence of an ancient myth.¹ The traditional interpretation endeavoured to illumine the obscurity of Isaiah vii. 14 by the light of future events; its modern counterpart by the light of beliefs already ancient in the eighth century B.C., when the passage was written, and, so it is asserted, familiar to Isaiah and his hearers.

“Had people only been acquainted with the range of ancient oriental conceptions (*den altorientalischen Vorstellungskreis*), no one would ever have questioned that the author of Isaiah vii. really intended to speak of the son of a virgin. The King-Redeemer everywhere appears (*Der Erlöserkönig erscheint allenthalben*) as the son of a virgin” (Jeremias, p. 47).

This is one of those sweeping statements in which a very little experience teaches us to look for the concealment of a weak case. The evidence adduced in support of the universal statement consists of the picture of the woman in Revelation xii., the belief that Dionysus was the son of the *ἱεὶς παρθένος* Demeter and Horus of Isis, and the symbolism in a representation of the zodiacal sign of the virgin on a door ornament of Notre Dame. Even if we were to admit that these facts suffice to prove that the King-Redeemer *everywhere* appears as the son of a virgin, and,

¹ H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der Israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905), pp. 272 ff.; A. Jeremias, *Babylonisches in N.T.* (1905), pp. 46 ff.; C. F. Burney, *The Sign of Immanuel* in *Journal of Theological Studies*, x. (1909), pp. 580-584; cf. G. H. Box, *The Book of Isaiah*, pp. 358 f. These recent exponents of the theory have failed to recall the similar theory of E. F. C. Rosenmüller in the second edition of his *Scholia* (1810), pp. 295-306.

therefore, for such is the implicit argument, was thus expected in Judæa in the eighth century B.C., it remains to consider whether Isaiah vii. in particular and as a matter of fact says anything whatever about the King-Redeemer ; if not, the argument that the birth predicted in that chapter must be a birth from a virgin falls to the ground. The mythological method is excellent in itself and has served to illumine both the Old Testament and the New ; but, like any other method, it is capable of being wrongly applied. In dissenting from Jeremias I must therefore be understood as dissenting, on this as on a former ¹ occasion, not from the method but from a particular application of it.

With regard to the original meaning of Isaiah vii. 14 I shall content myself with indicating briefly the main grounds on which the theory that a supernatural birth was intended by Isaiah is based and what appears to me to be the inadequacy or uncertainty of these grounds ; for a fuller discussion of details I must refer to my forthcoming commentary. The grounds, then, seem to be as follows :—

(1) The narrative implies that the sign must be miraculous ;

(2) The statement that the child will eat “ curds and honey ” implies his divine character ;

(3) The way in which Immanuel is addressed in viii. 8, “ the outstretching of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel,” implies that he was to be “ the guardian of his country now, its deliverer and governor hereafter,”² i.e. the King-Redeemer who, according to Jeremias, was everywhere expected to be born of a virgin.

The first of these grounds appears to me to rest on a misconception of what *אֵלֹהִים* means, or on a wrong inference from the narrative. A “ sign ” need not be, as Christian

¹ See EXPOSITOR, May and June, 1908, pp. 385-402, 530-546.

² S. R. Driver, *Isaiah : his Life and Times*, p. 42.

writers ever since Justin have claimed that it must, anything that we should term miraculous. And, as I read the narrative, there is not the slightest reason to infer that Isaiah, having promised Ahaz any miraculous sign he liked to ask, was still bound, after the king's refusal, to announce as the sign of God's own choosing something even more miraculous. For such an inference there might be some justification if the sign offered to Ahaz, but refused by him, and the sign thrust upon him against his will, had been intended to serve the same purpose; but they were not. The sign which was offered to Ahaz, which was at his choice to be as miraculous as he pleased, was to serve an *immediate* purpose; it was to convince the king then and there, and so lead him to accept at the moment the advice of the prophet and to follow immediately the course which Yahweh through His prophet revealed to him to be the right one. The sign actually announced, which was not of the king's choosing, but of Yahweh's, was to serve a *future* purpose; it was to remind king, court and people that Isaiah had spoken true, that his steadfast heart was justified and the trembling hearts of the king and court unjustified.

We need not say that the king's unbelief, or contumacy, made a miracle *impossible*, but, since no work, however mighty, was going to change the king's policy, it certainly did render a miracle *unnecessary*.

The statement that the child is to "eat curds and honey" is curiously used by some of the mythologists. It proves, so it is urged, that this child is divine; for "curds and honey" are mythologically "the food of the gods"; and whoso eats the food of the gods is a god. Yet at the same time it is held that "eating curds and honey" is in this passage a sign of a privation! Into a discussion of this curious combination I will not enter here, nor will I dispute that the phrase *may* be of mythological origin; but this

the conclusion of the chapter surely allows us to say that eating curds and honey was no necessary proof that the eater was a god, for surely not every survivor in Judah was to turn into a god; yet "curds and honey shall every one eat that is left in the midst of the land" (Isaiah vii. 22).

Certainly the strongest ground for believing that the child who was to be born was to be the deliverer of his people is to be found in the address to Immanuel in viii. 8*b*, *if Immanuel really is addressed there*. But the passage is ambiguous; it is not necessary to treat Immanuel as a vocative, and as a matter of fact the Greek translators understood it otherwise.

Against these doubtful and inadequate reasons, I set these:—

(1) Admittedly the passage makes no clear statement that a child will be borne by a virgin. We are asked by Jeremiah to *infer* this because the Redeemer was *everywhere*¹ expected to be born of a virgin. But this *everywhere* is a general conclusion from an inadequate number of instances; as a matter of fact we have as yet no *proof* that such a belief was current in Judah in particular in the middle of the eighth century B.C.

But (2) even if this belief prevailed, the passage in Isaiah says absolutely nothing about either the virginity of the mother or the redeeming work of the child. And it would be a peculiarly vicious circular argument to assert that the child must be the Redeemer because His birth is miraculous, and that His birth must be miraculous because He is the Redeemer. Isaiah terms the mother עלמה, a term that was doubtless most often used of *unmarried* women, but at the same time was entirely neutral as to the virginity of those

¹ The argument is stated far more cautiously by Dr Burney, who claims, rightly enough of course, that *some* heroes, including heroes of Hebrew story (Isaac), were born in remarkable circumstances.

to whom it was applied. Had the prophet a virgin in mind, why did he fail to use the term בתולה? If he was speaking of the Queen of Heaven why did he not call her מלכת השמים? So again if the prophet was really thinking of a redeemer, why does he go out of his way to ignore the part he was to play in the redemption of which he speaks? It would have been perfectly simple to say, Before the child shall know to refuse the evil, etc. . . . he shall reduce to ruins the land whose two kings thou abhorrest, *if* that was what the prophet meant; but why does he use the passive voice in speaking of deliverance, thereby excluding every particular reference to the agent in deliverance, if he really predicts not only deliverance but also a Messianic deliverer? I cannot help thinking that if we could approach Isaiah vii. without presuppositions we should no more think that Immanuel was to deliver Judah than that Hosea's son Jezreel was himself to take vengeance on the House of Jehu.

I conclude, then, that Isaiah vii. 14 made no allusion either to a Redeemer or to a Virgin Birth. Nevertheless, both these allusions were found in, or read into, this passage by the writer of Matthew i. 15-23 or his source. How much earlier was the passage so understood?

There are really only two directions in which we may look for light on this question—a passage in the Book of Micah (v. 1 ff., E. V. vv. 2 ff.) and the translation of Isaiah vii. 14 in the Septuagint.

It is commonly assumed that the words עד עת ילדה ילדה, “until the time that she that shall give birth shall have given birth,” refer to and interpret Isaiah vii. 14. This is hardly certain; indeed it seems more probable that, if the author of Micah v. 2 had any Scripture particularly in mind, it was the words כי ילד לנו in Isaiah ix. 5 rather than הנה העלמה הרה וילדת בן that were running in his head, for he employs an assonance ילדה ילדה that recalls ילד ילד

of Isaiah ix. 5, but he fails to repeat the term העלמה characteristic of Isaiah vii. 14. However, if it be granted that Micah v. 2 refers to and interprets Isaiah vii. 14, how much follows? The child to be born is understood to be the coming Deliverer, but Micah is even more indefinite with regard to the mother than Isaiah vii. 14. Of course if the King-Deliverer *everywhere* appears as the son of a virgin, the Deliverer of Micah v. 2 is virgin-born; but if we are not prepared to admit a universal conclusion based on a few instances only, and examine Micah v. 2 without mythological prejudice, there is no hint there of virgin birth. Quite the reverse; no expression more colourless with regard to the mother could have been chosen. This sentence means—until his mother, whoever she may be, shall have borne him; it is merely a Hebrew alternative to using the passive voice—until he is born; cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, 144e. If Isaiah vii. 14 and Micah v. 2 both referred to a current belief that the Deliverer of Israel was to be born of a virgin, it is exceedingly strange that *both* passages should avoid using the appropriate term בתולה, *virgin*, of the mother.

We come now to the LXX translation of Isaiah vii. 14. And here attention has generally been turned almost exclusively on the rendering of the Hebrew העלמה by ἡ παρθένος. At first sight, if we look back from the use of Isaiah vii. 14 in Matthew i. 23 and keep our eyes fixed on the word παρθένος and away from other points in the translation, it may seem probable that the Greek translators were thinking of a virgin birth. For though it is indeed possible that even παρθένος was occasionally used loosely in Greek of persons not virgin, yet certainly παρθένος, unlike the Hebrew עלמה, was the most suitable word for any one to use who wanted to lay stress on the virginity of a woman.

But on closer examination it seems at least doubtful

whether the translators were thinking either of the Messiah or of the virginity of the mother of the child to be called Immanuel. Of the reasons alleged, and mentioned above, for believing that Immanuel was intended by Isaiah to be the Messiah, the third and strongest is inapplicable if we are considering the intention of the LXX. Whatever be the case with the Hebrew original, the LXX knows nothing of Judah as “Immanuel’s land”—a description which, on one interpretation of the Hebrew text of viii. 8, was applied to Judah by Isaiah; the translation of viii. 8 in the LXX runs—*καὶ ἔσται ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ* (B+ὥστε πληρῶσαι) *τὰ πλάτη τῆς χώρας σου· μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός*, “And his camp shall be the wide spaces of the land. God is with us.” What the translators thought about Immanuel and His birth must, then, be gathered entirely from vii. 14–16. Did they understand, and did they wish to convey the idea, that the child was to be born of a virgin mother? I observe—

(1) That the Hebrew *הנה הרה* is ambiguous; it may mean that the future mother is already with child, or is about to be with child. *In the LXX this ambiguity disappears; the pregnancy of the virgin is not a present fact, it has yet to commence.* The Greek renders *הרה* by a future tense, *ἐν γαστρὶ λήμψεται* (B: ἔξει, SAQ); all, then, that the Greek translators need mean is that a woman *now* virgin will *hereafter*, in the ordinary course of nature losing her virginity, conceive; and this is obviously all that such a passage would convey to any one who came to it without prepossessions. But nothing supernatural, or abnormal, is implied in asserting that a woman virgin at the moment when the assertion is made will at some future moment become pregnant.

(2) *According to the best attested reading of Isaiah vii. 14 LXX the child Immanuel will receive His name from Ahaz, and therefore, presumably, in the intention of the translators,*

the child was to be the son of Ahaz as well as of the παρθένος: Behold the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and thou shalt call His name Emmanuel—so run the words addressed to Ahaz, if καλέσεις, the reading of AB, as also of Aq. Symm. Theod., be correct. The variants are καλέσει N, καλέσετε Q, καλέσ[ουσι]ν Γ. These variants in the LXX may very probably be due to a change of interpretation. But it is difficult to believe that those translators who made Ahaz the person who was to confer the name on the child thought of this child as the Messiah, or of the child's mother as virgin at the time of the birth.

How in detail the Greek translators interpreted the passage which they had to translate must of course remain largely a matter of inference; but it is possible to account for their rendering by a Jewish interpretation, which, though certainly incorrect, was widely current later. The child, according to this interpretation, was to be Hezekiah; ¹ it would agree with this that Ahaz, the father of Hezekiah, is, according to the LXX (A B καλέσεις), to give the child his name. This child, again, according to the Jewish interpretation, was to be the *firstborn* ² of Ahaz, and, therefore, it would be natural to infer that down to the time that his mother conceived the child, i.e., down to the time of Isaiah's interview with Ahaz, the mother was παρθένος, virgin. This, then, may be the reason why the LXX, instead of translating העלמה by νεάνις as in Ex. ii. 8, Psalm lxvii. (lxviii.) 25, Cant. i. 3, vi. 7 (8), translated it παρθένος as in Genesis xxiv. 43, where the woman in question was also shortly to be married and therefore, inferentially, at the time virgin.

But as mythological considerations have been brought forward to explain the passage in the original Hebrew, so have they also been brought to explain the Greek transla-

¹ Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Trypho*, c. 67. 71.

² Id. c. 84.

tion. For example, Professor Cheyne cannot otherwise explain the rendering than "as an allusion to a belief current among the translators' contemporaries." "It appears probable that in some of the early Jewish versions of the oriental myth of the Divine Redeemer (which has not, so far as we know as yet, been preserved) the mother of the Holy Child was called a 'virgin,' a term which was applied to "those heaven goddesses (e.g. Istar, Isis, Artemis) who were mothers, but not originally wives—in short 'virgins,' in the sense in which *παρθένος* was applied to the great mother-goddess of Asia Minor."¹ It may be added that women were called *παρθένος* who bare children as a result of intercourse with gods; in *Il.* ii. 512–514 Astyoche, the fruit of whose union with Ares was Ascalaphus and Ialmenes, is called *παρθένος αἰδοίη*, and Eudorus, the son of Polymele by Hermes, is called *παρθένιος* (*Il.* xvi. 179 f.).

It is possible, then, if *καλέσεις* is not the true text of the LXX in Isaiah vii. 14, that such beliefs as those referred to in the last paragraph may have influenced the translators in rendering *העלמה* by *ἡ παρθένος*, though even in this case the supposition is neither certain nor necessary; and it is altogether improbable, if *καλέσεις* is the true text, for in that case Ahaz was probably understood to be the father of the child and husband of her who before marriage was *παρθένος*. In any case Professor Cheyne seems to me altogether right in insisting that the translation of *העלמה* by *ἡ παρθένος* "is so far from accounting for the belief in the virgin birth of Christ that it requires to be explained itself" (*Bible Problems*, p. 193).

Consequently the Greek version of Isaiah vii. 14 is exceedingly untrustworthy evidence that a belief in the virgin birth of the Messiah was current in Jewish circles; if such beliefs can be otherwise proved to have existed, they may

¹ T. K. Cheyne, *Bible Problems*, 50–82.

be the explanation of the rendering, but that is a very different matter. So far I have been in the main questioning whether it is *certain*, as Archdeacon Allen asserts and Professor Harnack implies, that Isaiah vii. 14 was interpreted of the virgin birth of the Messiah before it was so interpreted of Jesus Christ. In the lack of clear evidence as to Jewish as distinct from Christian interpretation of the passage in the first century A.D. or earlier, the clear evidence which we do possess as to Jewish interpretation in the second century A.D. is worth a fresh examination. I confine myself to the new Greek translations made in that century, and the evidence of Justin Martyr in the dialogue with Trypho.

Of the new Greek versions of the second century Archdeacon Allen (p. 10) writes : " The fact that the later Greek translators substituted *νεάνις* for *παρθένος* and that there are no traces of the supernatural birth of the Messiah in later Jewish literature, is due to anti-Christian polemic." This seems to me to say too much, or too little. I do not question that Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion may have enjoyed a certain controversial warmth and pleasantness of feeling when they substituted *νεάνις* for *παρθένος* of the older versions ; but it is too much to say that anti-Christian polemic was the cause, or at least that it was the full cause, of the change. In part the change was due to the greater care of these translators, especially Aquila, for accuracy : *νεάνις* is an accurate, *παρθένος* is an inaccurate, rendering of *עלמה*. We have no right, from the fact that the Jewish translators of the second century A.D. translated accurately where the LXX had translated loosely, to infer that other Jews abandoned a firmly established part of their Messianic doctrine because the Christians had adopted it. The absence of traces of the doctrine of the virgin birth from Rabbinic literature *may* be due to anti-Christian polemic ; but I know of no rigorous proof of this ; and another cause

of that absence is equally possible, even if equally unproved, viz., that the virgin birth as a matter of fact never formed any part of the Rabbinic Messianic speculation, or of Jewish Alexandrian exegesis either before or after the rise of Christianity.

In this connexion Justin's Dialogue seems to me worthy of careful attention. It is the earliest detailed account of Jewish interpretation of Isaiah vii. 14 that we possess. What that interpretation was I have already stated above, and I have suggested that it may have been a traditional interpretation running back to the time of the LXX translation of Isaiah and accounting for the rendering in that version of Isaiah vii. 14.

But I observe here further (1) that Justin uses in proof of the virgin birth of our Lord other passages as well as Isaiah vii. 14. For example in cc. 75, 76 he writes : " If, then, we know that God revealed Himself in so many forms . . . why should we be at a loss and incredulous that, according to the will of the Father of all things, it was possible for Him to be born man by (*διὰ*) the virgin, especially as we have such scriptures, from which it can be plainly perceived that this also happened according to the will of the Father ? For when Daniel speaks of ' one like unto a Son of Man ' who received the everlasting kingdom, does he not hint at this very thing ? For in saying ' like unto a Son of Man ' he indicates indeed that He appeared and became man, but he makes it plain that he was not of human seed. And the same thing he proclaimed in mystery when he speaks of this stone which was cut out without hands. For the expression ' it was cut out without hands ' signified that it is not a work of man, but of the will of the Father and God of all things, who brought Him forth. And when Isaiah says, ' Who shall declare his generation ? ' he shews that His descent could not be declared. Now

no one who is a man of men (*ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων*) has a descent that cannot be declared. And when Moses says that He washes His garment in the blood of the grape, does not this signify what I have now often told you is an obscure prediction, viz., that He had blood but not from men ; just as not man, but God, has begotten the blood of the vine ? ” (compare also cc. 43, 67). Is it contended that pre-Christian Jewish exegesis discovered references to the miraculous birth of the Messiah in Daniel ii. 34, Isaiah liii. 8 and Genesis xlix. 11 ? If not, may we not most reasonably see in the interpretation of Isaiah vii. 14 of the virgin birth an early example of *Christian* exegesis ? for we know that Christians with great ingenuity found predictions of Christian facts (or beliefs) in predictions which, apart from their fulfilment, were admitted by the Christians themselves to be obscure, which, in other words, had never been understood by the Jews in the sense that Christian interpreters came to put upon them.

(2) In c. 68 *ad fin.* Justin asserts (a) that the LXX elders explained Isaiah vii. 14 of the virgin birth ; (b) that Trypho’s teachers, i.e. the Jewish Rabbis, denied the correctness of that interpretation ; and (c) that the Rabbis were compelled to admit that the Christian interpretation of certain prophecies “ which expressly prove that Christ was to suffer, to be worshipped, and to be called God ” was correct, but that they disputed the validity of the references of these prophecies to Jesus.

It will probably be admitted that the first of these assertions rests purely and simply on the occurrence of the word *παρθένος* in Isaiah vii. 14. Justin had no access to a commentary of the translators on their version. But the second assertion is good evidence that the Rabbis, and indeed the Jews generally,¹ known to Justin, knew nothing of any

¹ Justin (c. 49) makes Trypho say, “ We all expect that Christ will be a man (born) of men.”

Jewish interpretation that explained Isaiah vii. 14 of the virgin birth of the Messiah. If by 150 A.D. no trace, apart from the ambiguous rendering of the LXX, of the interpretation among the Jews could be discovered by a keen Christian controversialist, it is a serious question whether only a couple of generations earlier it formed a well-established part of Rabbinic doctrine concerning the Messiah. It may be, therefore, that Isaiah vii. 14 is not a case in which the Jews met the Christian attack by corrupting the testimony of the Scripture, as, according to the charges laid against them by the Christians, they did, not only here but also elsewhere; they may have simply disputed the validity of the reference in Isaiah vii. 14 to Jesus. Christians interpreted the passage of the birth of Jesus, the Jews of the birth of Hezekiah; for the Christian interpretation the inaccurate rendering of עלמה by παρθένος was crucial, for the Hebrew interpretation it was immaterial.

I conclude with a brief summary of my argument. It is asserted by Harnack that Isaiah vii. 14 is a complete explanation of the belief in the virgin birth of our Lord. I have shewn reasons for believing that this is too simple and easy a solution. Isaiah vii. 14 in its original meaning, as indeed Harnack admits, made no reference either to the Messiah or to a virgin birth; and this at least is certain—even a presumption that there is a reference to these things in that passage can only be created by proving such beliefs to have been current in Judah at the time; this proof is lacking. The Greek translation of Isaiah vii. 14, if the reading which A and B agree in supporting is false, might *possibly* be explained as referring to a virgin birth; but at best the theory that Isaiah vii. 14 in the Greek version makes reference to a belief in virgin birth rests on an uncertain and ambiguous interpretation of a badly attested form of the text. We have no other evidence that there was

in any purely Jewish circle any expectation that the Messiah would be born of a virgin. Neither the correction of *παρθένος* into *νεάνις* by Symmachus, Theodotion and Aquila, nor the line of argument in Justin is ground for asserting that such a belief prevailed; and Justin's dialogue rather suggests the reverse. Consequently the Christian belief that Jesus was born of a virgin rests either on fact or on the influence in early Christian circles of Gentile thought.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

A MODERN EXPERT'S JUDGMENT ON THE OLD TESTAMENT HISTORICAL WRITINGS.

FROM our own reading or from some other personal experience, we all know very well what a mass of depreciatory writing with regard to the historical books of the Old Testament has appeared in the more popular journalism of recent times. Even if no other fault-finding words about these books have reached our ears, we must at any rate have heard the shrill cry of the Anti-Semites: "Away with the Old Testament!" But what does modern scientific knowledge tell us about the character of Hebrew historical writing? Many of its representatives, it must be admitted, agree with that minimising depreciatory verdict. For instance, Hugo Winckler's *History of Israel* in two volumes contains incredibly harsh passages on the untrustworthiness of the Old Testament historical books. And even those scholars who approach the question in a more respectful and dignified manner, tell us that in these books we see only the presentation of a "philosophy of history." This is the conclusion of Hermann Schneider, "Privatdozent" at the University of Leipzig, in his book, *Two Essays on the History of Religion* (1909), p. 2, but as if he felt that in pronouncing this judgment he had done too much honour

to the authors of the Old Testament historical books, he immediately adds that they did not, of course, produce "modern historico-philosophical work"; for they had no theory based on knowledge, which could enable them to distinguish between reality and idea. Quite recently, however, an opinion *which differs entirely from the customary tone of criticism*, has been expressed upon the Hebrew historical writings, and I consider it a very opportune task to call attention to this view, and to use it as the starting point for a few remarks of my own upon the value of the historical writing of the Old Testament.

No less a man than the foremost expert in the science of the history of antiquity at the University of Berlin, the well-known Professor Edward Meyer, pronounces, in the new edition of his great *Geschichte des Altertums*, the following verdict on the historical writing of the Hebrews: "It was only among the Israelites and the Greeks that true historical literature had an entirely independent origin. Among the Israelites, who in this respect as in others occupy a separate position among all the civilised peoples of the East, it arose at an amazingly early period, and begins with highly important creations, on the one hand the purely historical narratives in the books of Judges and Samuel, and on the other the reconstruction of legend by the Jahvist."¹ In another important work² he further develops the same view, and gives the following reasons for his conclusion: "The narratives about David, especially in 2 Samuel ix.-xx., and 1 Kings i. f. show indisputably by their contents that they belong to the time when the events took place, and that the narrator must have been very accurately informed about the doings at court, and about the characters and intrigues of the actors in his story.

¹ Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, i. 1 (1907), § 131.

² It is entitled *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*.

They could not have been written later than in the time of Solomon" (*op. cit.*, p. 484). He is also inclined to the view that in such sections as Judges viii. f. and xvii. f., 1 Samuel xvi. 14 ff., xviii. 10-xxviii. 2, and xxix. 1-2 Samuel iv., we have before us "the ruins of a great historical work," which is much older than the oldest strata of the Pentateuch.¹ He even goes so far as to add: "It is an astonishing thing that a historical literature of this kind should have been possible in Israel at that period. It stands far above every other specimen of ancient Oriental history known to us,—above the dry official annals of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and above the legendary stories of Egyptian literature. *It is really genuine history.* Its roots lie in living interest in the actual events which it strives to comprehend and to grasp. The one and only analogy is found on the soil of Greece. Because of its history, the Israelite civilisation, alone amongst all others, takes rank from the very beginning as on an equal plane with that of Greece" (*op. cit.* p. 486).

This is certainly a very notable judgment, and it is all the more important as coming from a scholar who is equipped with a thorough knowledge of Oriental languages, and who has therefore an unusually far-sighted vision of the origins of ancient history. It is scarcely needful to add that the parts of the Old Testament which are primarily concerned in this appreciative verdict have been recognised by other critics also, e.g., by Driver² and myself as sections of the historical literature of Israel which are specially distinguished by the vividness and perspicuity of the narration.

Therefore we may say that in the almost unanimous opinion of present-day scholarship, there are at least a great

¹ In my opinion the Elohist is still older, as may be seen from my *Einleitung ins A.T.* § 46, 4.

² Driver, *An Introduction*, etc., 8th edition (1909), p. 183.

number of passages in the historical narratives of the Hebrews which bear the character of really genuine historical writing, and are not to be considered as merely the setting forth of a "philosophy of history," as Schneider has expressed himself in the passage cited above.

It follows, then, that the only question which remains for settlement is whether there are not other sections of the Hebrew historical writings which share the same characteristic of genuineness, and whether these do not deserve a higher reputation for trustworthiness than it is now customary to ascribe to them. In seeking an answer to this question we must naturally concern ourselves mainly with the historical sources which exist for the *older* history of Israel. The inquiry on which we enter must have for its object to prove how much further we may go back beyond Judges viii. f. (which even Edward Meyer recognises as genuine historical writing), without entirely losing our foothold on the ground of the trustworthy evidences of historical reality.

(1) To begin with, then, our steps are guided backwards on a safe path till we reach the first part of that heroic age, which we are accustomed to call less happily the "period of the Judges." For the poem which is usually and rightly called "the Song of Deborah" (Judges v. 2-31) is also recognised by the greatest experts in ancient literatures and by the keenest critics, as an immediate echo of the historical event which is there described; ¹ and it is easy to prove that this view of theirs is *fully justified*.

Have not a vivid mass of the most amazingly individual characteristics been gathered together in this poem? There, for instance, the tribe of Dan comes before us—"dwelling

¹ For instance, by the great Arabic scholar Th. Nöldeke in *Die semitischen Sprachen* (2nd edition, 1899, p. 32), and by Ed. Meyer, in *Die Israeliten*, etc., p. 487.

beside the ships as a stranger " (ver. 17) because this tribe had probably entered the maritime service of the Phœnicians, and stands there, a deeply bowed form, in the background of the picture. It symbolises the town of Meroz, which is nowhere else mentioned, and yet is remembered here with a curse (ver. 23). What an exceedingly important notice! For it is true that descriptions like the thrilling section of the song which describes the slaying of Sisera by Jael, the wife of a Kenite (vers. 24-27), or the dramatic delineation of the longing of the mother of Sisera for the home-coming of her son (vers. 28-30) might have been composed at a later time. But accusations and maledictions could not have been introduced into the historical picture without a cause. Such language is uttered here against the unpatriotic dilatoriness of the tribe of Reuben (ver. 15 f.) and against the town of Meroz which betrayed the fatherland (ver. 23). The Song of Deborah, then, is the direct reflection of a true historical event. And this view as to the age of that song of victory corresponds very well with the results of scholarly research, in our own day, into comparative literature. For the fact which such keen minds as those of Strabo and Varro recognised, that poetic productions belong to the most ancient portions of the world-literatures,¹ has been amply confirmed by the latest examinations of the literature of the Arabs and other peoples,² and these newest results may be fairly applied also to the poetry which we find in Hebrew literature.

(2) The historical testimonies of the people of Israel lead us back still further on a sure path until we reach the time of *Moses*. For all the older writings of the Hebrews re-echo the fame of his glorious deeds. In poetry (Exod.

¹ Ed. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, vol. i., p. 28 f.

² Carl Brockelmann, *Die Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, vol. i., p. 15.

xv. 2, etc.), in prose addresses (Hosea xii. 14), in those legislative strata which are admittedly the oldest, as in the "book of the covenant" (Exod. xx.-xxiv., etc.), and in the historical narratives, his name receives *equal* honour as that of the great mediator through whom the life of Israel was turned in a wholly new direction. It is perfectly true that the historical narratives with regard to his period contain undeniable differences, but as regards such differences it is important to keep in mind this guiding rule. The material which the various historical sources that it is possible for us to distinguish, contain *in common* about any separate fact in the course of history, is the *principal thing*.

As regards the general purport of differing statements in historical narratives, we may recall the saying of Lessing in his *Duplik*: "Suppose that Livy and Polybius and Tacitus describe the same event, engagement, or siege with such differing circumstances that the details as given by one writer seem to contradict entirely those narrated by another, has there ever been any doubt about the *event itself* on which they all agree?"

But the duty incumbent on the historical inquirer to give the fullest consideration to these portions of the original narratives in which there is a definite agreement, may be safely founded on the very nature of the facts themselves. For the light which is borne to us in the vibrations of the ether, though often broken up into the seven primary colours, tells us of something outside the medium in which it vibrates and is refracted. That something is the impulse which directs these vibrations of the ether: the *light itself*. Would the evening sky glow with a many-tinted, ever-changing play of colours if the sun had not gone down beneath the western horizon? We may therefore safely assume that the historic consciousness of Israel possessed

in the epoch-making deeds of Moses a new point of departure for the actual life of history.

(3) But do the historical writings of Israel lead us still further back on a safe path towards the origins of this people? To that question I reply that even if we cannot advance without interruption on a smooth, straight road we do find a line of granite boulders whose summits rise above the wind-swept sandheaps of tradition. These craggy rocks mark for us the borderline within which the more ancient history of Israel is contained. There are three of these boulders to which I desire to call attention here.

(a) One most interesting feature in the general character of Israel's historical writing is to be found in the *distinguishing of a period before Moses*. So we see that amidst all the splendour in which the Mosaic age shone forth as the period of Israel's youth (Hosea xi. 1; Jer. iii. 4) there was not any paling of that light which gleamed on Israel's memory from an age before the age of Moses. We find, on the contrary, that, notwithstanding the supreme greatness ascribed in these historical writings to the man whose glorious intervention brought about a vital change in the political and historical life of Israel, all honour is duly paid to Abraham and to Jacob as the founders of the national existence and of the people's religious mission. And yet how natural it would have been if the fame of Moses had misled the Hebrews, and made them regard *all* the foundations of their existence as laid in his time. We can see how easily this might have happened from the later books which describe the period reaching up to Moses, as, for instance, we may specially notice in the *Book of the Jubilees*. For in these books the distinctions which we find in the older historical writings between the periods before Abraham and Moses are very often obliterated. Indeed, it may be

said that if the historical memories of Israel had not been linked to sure facts of the past, Moses might have been transformed into an eponymous hero, like those who were accepted among the Greeks under the name of Achaïos, Aiolos, etc. The beginnings of *all* lines of development would have been traced back to him. But the historical writers of Israel knew that there were roots of Israel's historical existence and religious position which reached further back than Moses. To sum up, then, the distinction of a *pre-Mosaic* period in the historical consciousness of Israel is a cardinal point for the appreciation of the historiography of that people. This point has not received nearly sufficient consideration.

(b) But a second ground on which we may base our judgment of the historical writings of Israel as regards its earlier time will be found, if we note the fact that in the historical books which have come down to us *ancient original sources* are quoted.

The first of these is *The Book of the Wars of Jahveh* (Num. xxi. 14), i.e., an account of the conflicts which were waged under the invisible leadership of the Lord,¹ and for the glory of His name. The second original document which is quoted is *The Book of the Upright* (Josh. x. 13, and 2 Sam. i. 18), i.e., the book which described, or rather glorified with poetic lustre, deeds or model types of the ideal Israelite. For this second original source contained, according to the express declaration of 2 Samuel i. 18, the elegy of David on the death of Saul and Jonathan, which was to be sung at the archery meetings of the young men, so that their thoughts might be directed towards the example of both heroes.

The other quotation from this book, "Sun, stand thou still," etc. (Josh. x. 12), is a rhythmic utterance. There-

¹ Cf. Joshua v. 14, "As captain of the host of the Lord am I now come."

fore we may gather that the second ancient original document was a kind of poetic anthology, and it may very probably have contained poetical texts such as those which are scattered amidst the narratives on the earlier times; e.g. the song of the well ("Spring up, O well," Numbers xxi. 17), or the "signal words" ("Rise up, Lord," etc., Numbers x. 35) or the original material for Exodus xv. 2 ff., or at least the chief portions of Genesis xlix. 3 ff., especially verses 5 to 7, which we cannot explain from our knowledge of later times. Therefore we must not presuppose that there were *no literary sources* for the historical books of Israel which exist to-day, and which form the original records of our Pentateuch (the Elohist, the Jahvist, etc.); and this conclusion is of very great importance in our appreciation of these historical narratives.

(c) A third cardinal fact on which we may base our judgment as to the value of the historical sources for the narratives of Hebrew writers on the earliest stages of the people's development, is an idea rather than a fact, perhaps, but I think the true greatness of this idea will disclose itself as we consider its practical influence. This ideal, and yet real, greatness is that *feeling for the preservation of memories* which existed as an actual factor in the life of Israel in ways which we can easily understand.

This feeling shows itself, when once our attention has been called to it, in surprisingly varied manifestations. For in ancient Israel men's attention was not directed solely to the changes and chances of political life, and to the varying circumstances of progress and reaction in the material prosperity of the nation. The men of these times earnestly desired that due notice should be taken and due account given of the changes which took place in the existence of the people as a civilised race, including the highest and most sacred departments of their religious life. Thus they

noted the change in the names of places, as we read very frequently from Genesis xiv. and onwards.

Further, the change in the titles of God is expressly mentioned (Exod. vi. 2 f., Hosea ii. 16); and we find also notices as to the change in the popular designation of the prophets (1 Sam. ix. 9), or in the development of popular customs (1 Sam. xxx. 25), or in the date of the building of a town (Num. xiii. 22). How often, too, do we find an express notice of an advance in the unfolding of the legislative precepts (Gen. i. 29; ix. 2, etc.), or of the promises (Jer. xxxi. 31-34).

Along with these we note also the striking passages in which a sharp distinction is drawn between the various *degrees* of deviation from the lawful religion. For on a threefold ascending scale blame is meted out, first to those who had merely tolerated a multiplicity of places of worship, next to those who had practised the worship of images, and thirdly to those who had introduced the worship of strange gods (1 Kings xvi. 31, etc.). And did not this striving after the preservation of memories lead also to the provision of outward spots round which memory could cling? Even the planting of trees (Gen. xxi. 33, etc.) lent an indirect aid to this yearning, but in direct association with this desire for a faithful guarding of tradition, we observe such facts as the preservation of the pot of manna, etc., the erection of a monument of victory,¹ the hanging up of Goliath's sword in the sanctuary at Nob, etc., as may be seen from the introductory remarks of my *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes* (1908), p. 18 ff. Nor must we forget in this connexion the mention, repeated five times in Genesis in the different sources, of the cavern-grave at Hebron. And surely these many traces which bear the

¹ With the inscription "Ebenezer," 1 Samuel vii. 12, i.e., "Stone of Help" [of the Lord].

stamp of Israel's eager desire for the cherishing of ancient memories, are like footprints which will lead us to the true historical life of the earlier time.

But is any student of the Old Testament historical writing likely to ignore the lessons taught us by modern discoveries as to the *age of the art of writing* in Hither Asia? The Dolorite pillar which was found in the year 1902 at Schuster (the ancient Susa), and which in its original state contains 282 paragraphs of the Code of Hammurabi, expressly presupposes in several passages an acquaintance, even amongst the people, with the art of writing. For example, § 128 runs as follows: "If a man take a wife, but makes no treaty with her, this woman is not a wife."¹ What a singular assumption it would be if we supposed that Abraham, who emigrated from southern Babylonia, was unacquainted with the practice of writing! The "signet" which is mentioned in the case of Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 18), and which was probably inscribed with written characters, is now fully explained, for seals have been found in very large numbers during the excavations in Babylonia and Palestine.² We have further confirmations from the Babylonian historical records. For the king Amraphel of Genesis xiv. 1 is no other than Hammurabi, who founded the united state of Babylon about 2100 B.C. If Amraphel was not the same as Hammurabi, with what ruler of the ancient world are we to identify him? The fourteenth chapter of Genesis, through the many glosses which have been added to older expressions, bears clear evidence, moreover, that it is based upon an early foundation for the present text, and this early foundation may very probably have been contained in the above mentioned original document, *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*. The

¹ C. H. W. Johns, *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*, 1903, p. 25.

² *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, Dec., 1908, p. 35, etc.

period of Hammurabi and that of Abraham correspond, for the first patriarch, according to Scriptural chronology, immigrated into Canaan in the year 2099.

But I may break off at this point. For I think I have shown with sufficient clearness that the opinion of a leading expert of our day as to the value of the Hebrew historical writings, which formed the starting-point of this paper, will give an impulse towards further investigation. Such studies, I am convinced, can have only one result. Through them the right valuation of the Old Testament historical books will be more and more the object of a kind of research which will weigh the importance of the common factors in the sources, as well as of their differences. This kind of investigation, and this only, deserves to be called purely scientific.

ED. KÖNIG.

*SONGS OF THE LORD'S "BELOVED" **

II.

THE method outlined in the preceding article † implies an approach toward the great question of localising the Odes of Solomon in their true historical environment along two well-defined lines. We must first characterise the Judaism admittedly present in them with relation to the Judaism of 50 B.C. to 100 A.D. If the known conceptions of this age and literature cover all the dominant ideas of the Odists, leaving nothing but the superficial, irrelevant, and incongruous unaccounted for, the inference will be hardly avoidable that the Odes, however manipulated, interpolated, adapted, and interpreted, during their sojourn in the tents of Japhet, are fundamentally a Jewish product. As already noted,

* Is. v. 1; cf. Ode 3.

† "The Odes of the Lord's Rest," I., EXPOSITOR, March, 1911.

they have no mention of the name or teaching of Jesus, and the supposed allusions to His work, His life, His fate, His resurrection and gift of the Spirit are in all cases doubtful on the score either of interpretation or of authenticity. Neither are there any certain impressions of the life or literature of the Church. Near as is the spiritual affinity, e.g., of the Odist with the Fourth Gospel, no critic pretends to discern any literary dependence here on his part—surely a somewhat significant fact if the Odes are regarded as a product of late second-century Christianity. To this task of characterising the dominant ideas of the Odist with relation to current Judaism we may devote the present article. The second line of investigation must set out from the other terminus. Certain elements of the Odes in their present form are admittedly, almost obtrusively, Christian. What type of Christianity do they represent, and of what date? Are all the Christian elements reducible to this category, or at least to the category of interpolated, incongruous, material whether by a single hand, at some particular date, or by several? Is this material, in whole or in part, of the bone and flesh of the Odist? Or does its employment of his characteristic ideas do injustice to their real meaning, and do its purpose and animus conflict with his? Consideration of this second and converse line of approach must be left to a third and concluding article.

We have already had occasion to note the very marked dependence of the Odist on the characteristic ideas of Isaiah, and more especially Deutero-Isaiah. At the very outset the symbolism of Ode 1 repeated in Ode 5. 9–11 is manifestly a development of Isaiah xxviii. 5 f. as observed by a succession of critics. The canonical prophet compares the luxuriant olive-crowned hill of Samaria with the bleak hill of Zion, whose only beauty was the sanctuary of Yahweh, and compares them to the disadvantage of the former. Samaria

is like the beautiful but fading garlands wherewith men deck the heads of revellers at feasts. Zion is crowned with the unfading "glory" of Yahweh, which overhangs the sanctuary, and inspires her judges and warriors.

Woe to the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim
and to the fading flower of his glorious beauty
On the head of the fat ralley of them that are overcome with wine.

The crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim
shall be trodden under foot :
And the fading flower of his glorious beauty on the head of the fat
ralley
shall be like the first ripe fig before the summer.

In that day shall Yahweh of Hosts be a crown of glory
and a diadem of beauty to the remnant of His people :
And a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth on the judgment seat
and of strength to them that turn back the battle at the gate.

Compare with this the Odist's song of the Lord's inspiring Spirit :—

ODE 1.* THE LORD OUR DIADEM OF INSPIRATION.

- ¹ The Lord is on my head like a crown
and I shall ne'er be without Him.
- ² A crown of truth did they weave me,
and it caused thy branches within me to bud.
- ³ For not like a withered wreath is this which buddeth not :
but thou livest upon my head,
and thou hast blossomed on my head.
- ⁴ Thy fruits are full-grown and perfect,
they are full of thy salvation.

The inspiration of the judge and warrior is no longer the chief function of Yahweh's Spirit. For our Odist it is that of the singer, whose songs are due to the overshadowing presence of the Lord.

This living chaplet "which the Lord promised to them that love Him" is repeatedly referred to by New Testament writers,† but here the Isaian basis is manifest, and there

* Coptic only.

† 1 Pet. v. 4, Jas. i. 12, Rev. ii. 10 (1 Cor. ix. 25).

is no sign of dependence on the New Testament. The outward, living wreath of the Lord's Spirit has inward, living branches, which bud and bring forth; and their fruit is songs of praise whose theme is the Lord's "Salvation." This "fruit of the lips," a commonplace of the Odes,* is again an Isaian phrase,† again reproduced in the New Testament.‡ But while this representation of the poet's sense of his calling, which so appropriately prefaces the collection, might seem at first to be intensely individual, we shall discover that this apparently personal "I" has the Isaian characteristic of merging in that of the "remnant of Yahweh's people," "Jacob His Servant and Jeshurun His Chosen.§ Ps. xxiii., as we readily recognise, when we ask ourselves the derivation of its beautiful symbolism, appropriates the figures of Isaiah xl. 11, xlix. 9 f. concerning Yahweh's leading Israel like a flock across the desert, till He caused them to rest in the green pastures of His own land. Now just as Psalm xxiii. for all succeeding generations has become a typical expression of individual and personal dependence on the loving care of God, so here the Odist's personal pronouns are in a transition state between the national and the individual application. We are continually forced to ask the Eunuch's question evoked by the Deutero-Isaian poem of Yahweh's suffering servant: "Of whom speaketh the prophet this? Of himself, or of some other"?|| This is quite apparent even as regards his gift of song in the beautiful Ode 6 already reproduced. The praise of the Lord's name which in strophe i. (ver. 1-4) is a product in the poet's mem-

* Odes 8. 1-3, 12: 1f. 14: 16. 1-3.

† Is. lvii. 19; cf. Hos. xiv. 2.

‡ Heb. xiii. 15.

§ Is. xlv. 1.

|| Acts viii. 34. Cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.* "Das Ich welches in den Oden redet geht leicht in Wir über; die einzelne erlöste Seele spricht zugleich im Namen der Gesamtheit."

bers of the Lord's Spirit, becomes a calling of the whole community he represents in strophe ii. (ver. 5-6), and the final strophe (ver. 12-17) congratulates them on this beneficent mission.* In Ode 12 we have a much broader and more philosophical treatment of this mission ; the revelation is treated from the cosmic standpoint. The poet seems to be inspired by the sublime antithesis of Ps. xix. between the glory of God as declared by the voiceless host of heaven, and as declared by the written revelation ; but he is clearly affected also, like the Wisdom of Solomon whose phraseology he borrows, by the Stoic doctrine of the Logos. Nor does he stop even here. The distinctive characteristic of the Johannine Logos-doctrine which marks it off as Christian from mere Greek metaphysics is its ethical quality. The essence of the Johannine Logos is not, as in Heracleitus and the Stoics, rationality (*νοῦς*), but *love* (*ἀγάπη*). So in the later Jewish literature Wisdom, which in *Sap. Sal.* approaches identification with the Logos, is the redemptive as well as the creative effluence of God.

For Wisdom is more mobile than any motion ;
Yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason of her pure-
ness.

For she is a vapour of the power of God,
And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty ;
Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.
For she is an effulgence from the everlasting Light
And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,
And an image of His goodness.

* Ode 10 again speaks of this mission in the singular, "The Lord gave me to speak the fruit of His peace: to convert the souls of them who are willing to come to Him," etc. The use of the first person singular even leads Harris to observe: "Christ must himself be accounted the speaker through the mouth of his prophet." It is indeed a mission to "gather together the Gentiles who were scattered abroad," and cannot be conceived as the work of an individual. But why must Christ be the speaker any more than in Ode 20, "I am a priest of the Lord," etc. These are simply the functions of Jeshurun the Servant of Yahweh in Dt.-Isaiah (Is. xlix. 1-6, lii. 13-15, lv. 1-5, etc.). In the Odes we have first "I," then "We" of the same functions. On this mission of the Servant cf. *Sap.* xviii. 4.

- v. ⁹ And from it came love and concord ;
 and men spake each to other whatever was theirs ;
 and they were penetrated by the Logos ;
 v. ¹⁰ And they knew Him who made them
 because they were in concord ;
 For the mouth of the Most High spake to them ;
 and his revelation ran by means of it.
- vi. ¹¹ For the dwelling-place (σκήνη) of the Logos is man :
 and its truth is Love.
- ¹² Blessed are they who by means thereof have understood everything
 and have known the Lord in His truth. Hallelujah.

The relations of Ode 12 to the Johannine writings are almost too pervasive for enumeration. Of the Odist's Logos too it may be said "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men." * Its outpouring is also "an unction from the Holy One giving knowledge of all things." The Odist feels that he has been "given an understanding to know Him that is true," and that "its truth is Love" (12. 11 f.). And yet his dependence is certainly not on Christian ideas, but on Deutero-Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon. What second-century fathers inform us was the one essential distinction between their Logos doctrine and that of their heathen contemporaries is precisely the distinction between this Hellenistic-Jewish Logos-doctrine and the Johannine. The Odist betrays no acquaintance with the great Event ; "the Logos *became flesh* and tabernacled among us." So far as this Ode is concerned its relations with the New Testament are indeed of extreme importance, but it would seem as antecedent and not as consequent.

We have room to consider but two more of the dominant ideas of our poet. Both are closely related, like the preceding, to Deutero-Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon, and in at least

* Cf. Ode 16. 3-9. The Spirit of the Lord manifests His glory through the utterance of the singer's heart as his creative Logos manifests it in the light bodies of heaven.

their basic elements seem rather to foreshadow than to presuppose those of the New Testament. They are the ideas of Sonship, and of Redemption. In both cases we are dealing with ideas which passed over from Judaism to Christianity, and through a much more gradual transition than was realised until lately by even the best-informed. Judaism too had its doctrine of spiritual birth, a divine sonship by regeneration in the inward likeness of God, an Adoption of the Spirit constituting a true seed of Abraham as heirs of a renovated world. To this Israel it applied the titles "The Son," "the Beloved," "the Chosen," "the Only-begotten," * expressly distinguishing its relation to the Creator from that which might be claimed by other members of the race, by the fact that it was a spiritual kinship based upon a relation of reciprocal love. For just as Yahweh had originally chosen Israel and adopted them as his Firstborn out of pure unmerited love (Ex. iv. 22 f., Dt. xxxii. 8 ff., xxxiii. 3-5, 26, Hos. xi. 1-4), so He had given them a law explicitly summarised in the commandment "Thou shalt love Yahweh thy God with all thine heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." † Israel, which has made this commandment in the most literal sense its talisman and daily motto, may therefore rightly call itself Yahweh's "Firstborn," His "fervent Lover." ‡ Their relation to Him is not that merely of the Gentiles who cry: "Have we not all one Father, hath not one God created us?" but rather a sonship like that of Isaac "the God-begotten," § since it rests upon "a holy

* As one out of many examples take II. Esdr. vi. 55-59, especially ver. 58: "We, thy people, whom thou hast called thy Firstborn, thy Only-begotten, and thy fervent Lover." In *Jubil.* xxxi. 20 Israel is "the Beloved."

† Dt. vi. 5. As is well known, these words form the opening clause of the *Shema'*, the Credo of Israel.

‡ II. Esdr. vi. 58.

§ I am unable at present to locate this phrase, which according to a note made long since is applied in "Rabbinic writings" to Isaac. But see e.g. the Targ. Jerus. I. on Esen 22. 1, and Weber, *Lehre d. Talmud*, §§ 56, 2, and 70, 2.

Spirit " conveyed by Yahweh. This appears in more legalistic form than in the Wisdom literature in *Jubilees* i. 22-26, where God promises to Moses that Israel's perverse disposition shall ultimately be healed in the Great Repentance.

And they shall be converted to me with all their heart and all their soul. And I will circumcise their heart, and the heart of their seed, and will provide them a holy spirit and make them pure, so that they shall no more turn away from me from henceforth forever. And their soul shall cleave to me and to all my law, and they will perform my commandment and I will be to them a Father, and they shall be my children. And they shall all be called children of the living God, and every angel and spirit shall know and recognise that they are my children, and I their Father in steadfastness and righteousness, and that I love them.

Akiba (*ob.* 135 A.D.) makes the distinction clear between Israel's spiritual sonship and that of the Gentiles in the following defence of Israel's right to the title " Beloved " :—

²¹ Man is " Beloved " in that he was created " in the likeness " (of God) ; greater love (was it that it) was revealed to him (i.e. through Moses) that he had been created in the likeness of God, as it is said : " In the image of God made He man " (Gen. ix. 6).

²² " Beloved " are Israel in that they are called children of God ; greater love was it that it was revealed to them that they are called children of God, as it is said, " Ye are the children of Yahweh your God " (Deut. xiv. 1—a command to avoid heathenish practices).

²³ " Beloved " are Israel in that there was given to them the instrument by which the world was created (i.e. Wisdom, identified as usual among the rabbis with the Torah ; cf. Ps. civ. 24, Prov. viii. 22 ff., Ecclus. xxiv. 23, *Sap.* vii. 22, ix. 9, Baruch iii. 9-iv. 1), as it is said, I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my Law (Prov. iv. 2).*

As in Romans ii. 17-21 the prerogative of the Jew according to Akiba rests upon his knowledge of " the Will " in the revealed Torah. This revelation (if followed) gives him the right to call himself Yahweh's Beloved Son ; just as the Christian claims a similar right by being an imitator of God's visible goodness, and walking in love (Eph. v. 1 f. ;

* *Pirque Aboth*, iii. 21-23.

cf. Matt. v. 44 f.). In *Sap. Sal.* xii. 19–21, xvi. 25 f., xviii. 4, 13 this sonship of Israel has not yet become so formal and legalistic as in the period of the scribes, it is still strongly affected by the figure of the suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah; in fact the Isaian term (*παῖς* = “son,” or “servant”) is often preferred to that of the earlier prophets as in the following description of “the righteous (people)” by the heathen:

He professeth to have knowledge of God
 And nameth himself Servant (*παῖς*) of the Lord.
 He became to us (Gentiles) a reproof of our thoughts.
 He is grievous unto us even to behold
 Because his life is unlike other men's
 And his paths are of strange fashion.
 We were accounted by him as base metal,
 And he abstaineth from our ways as from uncleannesses.
 He calleth the latter end of the righteous happy;
 And he vaunteth that God is his father.
 Let us see if his words be true,
 And let us try what shall befall in the ending of his life.
 For if the Righteous one is God's Son, He will uphold him,
 And He will deliver him out of the hand of his adversaries.*

Here, as in the Odes, one can scarcely say whether the righteous Son (or Servant), despised and oppressed by the wicked, is the typical righteous individual, or the Righteous people, “the people of the Saints of the Most High.” Only as we pursue the poem to its close in a grandiose description of the Redemption from Egypt does it become apparent that to the author the two are interchangeable. “Upon the destruction of the firstborn, they (the Egyptians) confessed the people to be God's son”; they “deserved to be deprived of light (in the plague of darkness) because they had kept in close ward thy sons, through whom the incorruptible light of the law was to be given to the race of men.”† Israel is the Righteous One, who by his knowledge (of God) justifies many. He “knows

* *Sap.* ii. 13–18.

† *Sap.* xviii. 13, 4.

the mystery of God," which now turns out to be the doctrine of immortality in a world-dominion of faith and truth and love.*

The personality in whose name the Odist speaks first as "I," then "we," has precisely this transition character. His sonship wavers on the brink of an individual sonship, yet in all its elements it is part and parcel of that community sonship which belongs to the Servant of God (*παῖς θεοῦ*) of Deutero-Isaiah. Indeed we may almost say that he rests on the LXX., which renders "Jeshurun" in Isaiah xlv. 2 by "the Beloved" (*ὁ Ἠγαπημένος*); for there is much to remind us of Isaiah xlv. 1-5 in the following:—

Odes 4. 7, 7. 6, ODE 3. THE ADOPTION OF THE SONS OF GOD.

20. 7, 21. 2 f.,
25. 8.

. I put on

² and His members are with Him.

And on them † do I hang, and He loves me.

Deut. xxxiii. ii.

12, Hos. ii.

14, iii. 1, Isa.

xlii. 1, xlv.

1 f.; Ode 8.

14, 28 f.

³ For I should not have known how to love the Lord
if He had not loved me.

⁴ For who can distinguish love,
save he that is beloved ?

Ode 11. 2, 10- iii.

14.

⁵ I love the Beloved, and my soul loves Him,

⁶ and where His Rest is there also am I;

⁷ And I shall be no stranger,

for with the Lord most High there is no grudging.

iv. ⁸ I have been united to the Loving One ‡

because the Lover hath found the Beloved, §

⁹ And because I love Him [the Son] ||

I shall be a son ;

Sap. ii. 23, v. v.

15.

¹⁰ For he that is joined to One that is Immortal,
will himself become immortal.

And he who hath pleasure in the Life ¶

will become living.

* Sap. ii. 22-iii. 9, v. 1-3, 15 f.

† MS. "them." A very minute change would give "Him."

‡ So C. C. Torrey. Harris: for with the Lord most High and Merciful
there is no grudging. I have been united [to Him].

§ So Flemming. Harris: I shall find love to.

|| Harnack deletes v. 9. as a Christian interpolation. Staerk only the
single word "the Son."

¶ So Flemming. Harris: is accepted in the Living One. Codex: the
Life.

Sap. ix. 17 f. vi. This is the Spirit of the Lord which doth not lie,
 which teacheth the sons of men to know His way.
 Be wise and understanding and vigilant. Halle-
 lujah.

The divine sonship here spoken of is clearly adoptive. It recalls at first the opinion of Harris that

"the writer is explaining his position in a Christian community as a Gentile among Jews."

This Harris infers from the kindred passage Ode 41. 8 ff.:—

All that see me will be astonished,
 for I am from another race (γένος).
 For the Father of truth remembered me,
 He who possessed (περιεποίησε) me from the beginning;
 For His bounty begat me.

In reality the Odist is not speaking in either passage of his physical birth, but of the sonship of the Only-begotten, the Beloved (people) in the Rest to which they have been brought by Yahweh. It is a relation which implies immortality because based upon the reciprocal exercise of love, wherein Yahweh's people have been the learners. This immortality, for which the object of Yahweh's love is destined in the glorified land of His Rest, implies a corresponding physical glorification of the redeemed people. Professors Burkitt and Harris are quite right in referring the constant employment by the Odist of figures of "clothing with" glory, or immortality, or a body of light, to this doctrine of transfiguration, which is parallel to that of 2 Corinthians iii. 18, Mark. ix. 2 ff., *Apoc. Petri*, 4–20. Only the inference of Christian influence is quite misleading. *Apoc. Bar.* xlix.–li. has a doctrine of the glorified resurrection body, like that of the angels, even more complete than Paul's and certainly not derived from his. And it is not a Christian but a Jewish foundation on which our poet bases his doctrine of spiritual new birth into the glorified body of immortality. Alongside of the passage from Ode 41 on the astonishment of those

who see the Son begotten of the Father of truth, as one "from another race," must be set Ode 28. 8-15, describing the resurrection of Yahweh's people by virtue of His Spirit within them :—

* They who saw me marvelled at me
because I was persecuted, and they supposed that I was swallowed up :
For I seemed to them as one of the lost.

¹⁴ And I did not perish ; *for I was not their brother,*
nor was my birth like theirs.

It is not difficult to recognise the lineaments of the suffering Servant of Isaiah lii. 14, who, after his restoration becomes a priest-nation in the midst of the peoples, to sprinkle them with purifying drops and to teach them the knowledge of Yahweh. He too is an object of astonishment to the Gentiles because of his changed appearance (Is. lii. 14—liii. 11). The speaker impersonated by the Odist is in like manner "a priest of the Lord" charged with the same mission to the Gentiles (Ode 20). He too has a sonship by virtue of spiritual birth, which clothes him with a body of light like the angels, and makes him a subject of marvel to the heathen (Ode 15. 17. 4-7, 25. 5-8, 36. 3-5). To appreciate this idea in its historical development we need to realise by means of *Sap.* v. 1-5, 15 f. how the Deutero-Isaian conception of the glorified Servant had advanced with the centuries along the road of a doctrine of individual immortality.—

¹ Then (in the Judgment) shall the Righteous One stand in great boldness

Before the face of them that afflicted him,
And them that make his labours of no account.

² When they see him they shall be troubled with terrible fear
And shall be amazed at the marvel of [God's] salvation.

³ They shall say among themselves repenting,
And groaning for distress of spirit :
This is he whom aforetime we had in derision,
And as a byword of reproach, 'we fools :

We accounted his life to be madness
And his end without honour.

⁵ How was he numbered among the sons of God ?
And how is his lot among holy ones ?

¹⁵ But the righteous live forever
And in the Lord is their reward,
And the care for them with the Most High.

¹⁶ Therefore shall they receive the crown of royal dignity
And the diadem of beauty from the Lord's hand.

For the specific forms of the Odist's conception of the resurrection life in the Lord's Rest, as priests in his Sanctuary we have abundant parallels in the later Jewish apocalyptic literature. These leave no doubt as to current ideas regarding the body of light like the angels, and the similar metamorphosis of the Holy Land, now become the Paradise of God's intercourse with man.* But in respect to the deeper content, our poet stands far nearer to Deutero-Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon. The regenerating power which effects this transformation of men into sons of God is the spirit of knowledge and obedience, the "wisdom of the just," † the "wisdom which cometh from above." ‡ As we have seen, it remains still a gift of divine grace in *Jubil.* i. 22-26 ; but here it is less legalistic, more like the "wisdom" to which we have referred in the most peculiarly Jewish elements of the New Testament. The Servant, because his relation to God is this inward, spiritual relation, is entitled to be called the Lord's Firstborn, His Beloved, His Only-begotten, though his function is to bring the Gentiles also into a like relation (Odes 10, 15, 20).

The last of the great pervasive ideas of the Odist of which we have room to speak, rests, like the others, upon Isaiah, the Psalms and Wisdom ; and it displays the same advance

* Cf. *Slav. En.* xxii. 8-10, *Ap. Bar.* li. 3, 7-10, etc. Also *Eth. En.* xxxii. 3-6, lx. 8, lxi. 12, lxx. 3 and *Slav. En.* viii. 1-8.

† Luke i. 17.

‡ Jas. i. 5, iii. 13-18.

in the direction of individualism. It is the conception of Redemption, an idea so pervasive, that we might easily believe the whole collection to have been formed for purposes of Passover celebration, and might appropriately designate them Songs of Redemption. As in the Songs of the Restoration in Deutero-Isaiah, in many of the canonical Psalms, and in *Ps. Sal.* vi. 5, the conception rests upon the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, with special allusion to Yahweh's opening of a path through the waters of the Red Sea and Jordan, guiding and protecting them with His "glory," and scattering their enemies. For all these Songs of Redemption the model is of course the "Song of Moses and the Children of Israel" in Exodus xv. 1-21; but in the latest elements of Isaiah, such as Isaiah xxvi. 19-xxvii. 1, there is a strong admixture of the mythologic theme of the destruction of Rahab the abyss-monster. Just as Paul applies the symbolism of baptism, the type of burial and resurrection with Christ, to the passage of Israel through the Red Sea, just as our own hymns, "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah," and the like, apply the imagery of the Exodus to the soul's deliverance from death, so here. The thought of deliverance from the prison house of Sheol, victory over the powers of death, and guidance into Yahweh's paradise of Rest, tends to overshadow the more primitive idea of literal deliverance out of Egypt. Already with Deutero-Isaiah the Restoration is a Redemption so great as to cast the former deliverance into oblivion.* Just so in certain later expressions of Israel's faith in Yahweh's redemption, it is a "bringing down to the grave and bringing up again." Moreover, the phenomenon noted in previous cases is at least equally conspicuous here, the resurrection accomplished, which at its beginnings in Ezekiel xxxvii. 1-14 is clearly and unmistakably a restoration of the *national* life, becomes gradually individualised. In Isaiah xxvi. 18, xxvii. 1

* *Is.* xliii. 16-19.

one can hardly say whether an individual resurrection is, or is not, implied. The same is true of the second Blessing of the *Shemoneh Esreh* :—

Thou art mighty forever, O Lord ; thou restorest life to the dead, thou art mighty to save ; who sustainest the living with beneficence, quickenest the dead with great mercy, supporting the fallen and healing the sick, and setting at liberty those that are bound, and upholding thy faithfulness to those that sleep in the dust. Who is like unto thee, O King, who killest and makest alive again, and causest help to spring forth ? And faithful art thou to quicken the dead. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest the dead.

In the pseudo-Isaian fragment repeatedly quoted by Justin Martyr and Irenaeus Yahweh's descent into Sheol assumes all the features of the mystery-myth :—

The Lord God remembered His dead people who lay in their graves and He descended to proclaim to them His own salvation.*

In Ephesians v. 14 Paul himself has quoted a similar redemption ode in which the light-hero whose epiphany in the gloomy prison-house of death awakens its denizens is " the Messiah " Himself.†

How far the process of admixture from Oriental myths of the conflict of Marduk and Tiamat, or the avatar of Hibil Ziwa, had affected the Jewish epic of Redemption at the beginning of our era remains among the unsolved problems of comparative religion. Its beginnings are clearly traceable in Deutero-Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon.‡ In Paul the descent and victory of the divine champion is a fixed element of belief.§ The question where to draw the dividing line in the Odes of Solomon, accordingly, between elements

* Quoted by Justin M. *Dial.* lxxii. as from "Jeremiah." Irenaeus in *Haer.* III. xx. 4, as from "Isaiah," in IV. xxii. 1, from "Jeremiah."

† According to Hippolytus this quotation too was found in "Isaiah." Other fathers claim to have found it in the *Apocalypse of Elias*.

‡ Cf. the arming of the light hero in Is. lix. 17 with *Sap.* v. 17–20. In Isaiah the hero is Yahweh Himself (Is. xxvii. 1, lix. 16). In *Sap.* xviii. 16 it is His Logos.

§ Eph. iv. 8–10, v. 13 f., vi. 10–17, 1 Thess. v. 8, 2 Cor. vi. 7.

which may be purely late Jewish, and such as are necessarily Christian, is far from a simple one. It is best approached in such of the Odes as are least open to suspicion of interpolation by reason of logical consistency and intelligibility. As an example of this theme we may take :—

ODE 22. REDEMPTION FROM SHEOL.

1 Sam. ii. 6 ;
Ps. xxx. 3.

1 He who brought me down from on high,
brought me up also from the depths below.

Isa. liv. 7, lvi.
8.

2 For it was He who gathereth together the things
that are between,
who also cast me down :

3 It is He who scattered my enemies and my adversaries :

Ode 17. 8-11.

He who gave me authority over bonds to loose
them

Isa. xxvii. 1 ;
Psa. xci. 13.

4 He that overthrew by my hands the dragon with
seven heads :

Test. Lev. xviii.
26 f.

5 and thou hast set me over his roots that I might
destroy his seed.

ii. 6 Thou wast there and didst help me,
and in every place thy Name was about * me.

7 Thy right hand destroyed his wicked poison ;
and thy hand levelled the way for those who be-
lieve in thee :

Ezek. xxxvii.
1-14.

8 And thou didst choose them from the graves,
and didst separate them from the dead ;

9 Thou didst take dead bones and didst cover them
with bodies ;
they were motionless, and thou didst give energy
for life.

Ps. xc. 2-6.

iii. Thy way was without corruption,
and thy face brought thy world to corruption
That everything might be dissolved and then renewed,
and that the foundation of everything might be
thy rock,

And on it thou didst build thy kingdom ;

Psa. xc. 1.

and thou wast the dwelling-place of the saints.
Hallelujah.

In this Ode as in Odes 15, 17, 25 and 42, Redemption

signifies the breaking of the prison house of Sheol. Yahweh's servant is "called in righteousness . . . for a light of the Gentiles, to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house." * He "breaks in pieces the doors of brass and cuts in sunder the bars of iron," † but the deliverance is more extensive than from Egypt or Babylon. The broken gates are the gates of Sheol. The scattered enemies are the great Adversary and his helpers, the powers of darkness. Rahab the great dragon of the abyss, who is still only Pharaoh in Ezekiel xxix. 3, and is smitten at the smiting of the Red Sea in Isaiah li. 9 f., Psalm lxxxix. 9 f., is here, as in Isaiah xxvi. 19–xxvii. 1, smitten and spoiled in Sheol itself. It may be true that certain elements such as Ode 42. 13–26 are, as the editor assures us, "too highly evolved in (their) imaginary treatment of the Descent into Hell, to be reckoned as belonging to the same period as the main body of the collection." We are unquestionably well advanced upon the road toward the medieval doctrine of the Harrowing of Hell. But the basis even here is still Jewish. The Deliverer is not Jesus, but Yahweh or the Servant, at most the Messiah. The poetic model is the smiting of Rahab when Israel was led through the rivers and the Sea. In Ode 39, as already pointed out, this, and not "our Lord's walking on the sea of Galilee," is in the poet's mind. The "sign" in the midst of the rivers and seas, which "is the Lord," and constitutes "the way of those who cross in the name of the Lord" (Ode 39. 6) is the sign of Isaiah lxvi. 19, in later Jewish phrase the Schechinah. It is Yahweh Himself in the glory which became Israel's "rereward" at the crossing (Is. lviii. 8),

* Is. xlii. 6 f.

† Is. xlv. 2, Ps. cvii. 16; cf. Ode 17. 8–12. As Harris remarks, *ibid.*, this "need not be an allusion to the descent into Hades; for the problem of liberation of souls is stated in general terms." But cf. the following, and Odes 24, 25, 42.

it is "His Holy Spirit" which "He put in the midst of them," which "led them through the depths." It is Yahweh Himself who "brought them up out of the sea together with the shepherds of his flock" (Is. lxviii. 11-14).*

In order to deal fairly with the question: Jewish or Christian? we must take account of this unquestionably Jewish basis in the poet's conception of Redemption as in the previous instances. When in this as in the other dominant controlling ideas we have clearly located the Odes with reference to later Judaism, with its transcendentalised Messianism and its large admixture from Persian and Greek speculation, we shall at least have done something toward giving them their true place in the history of our religion. It is possible that thereafter we may be able to distinguish authentic material from interpolation, and pronounce a verdict on the collection as a whole.

B. W. BACON.

DID ST. PAUL SPEAK LATIN?

THE question whether St. Paul spoke Latin or not is one which, like most questions connected with the New Testament, may have been the subject of a special discussion somewhere, but if it has, I am unaware of the fact, and I think that in any case the matter is of sufficient interest to deserve a fresh consideration. The existence of undisputed epistles written in semi-colloquial Greek is adequate evidence that he spoke Greek, and the Acts narrative shows that he spoke Aramaic.¹ There is enough evidence to suggest

* On pre-Christian forms of the doctrine of the Harrowing of Hell, see Bigg's comments on 1 Pet. iii. 19 (*Intern. Crit. Comm.*, p. 163) with the references; especially the two citations from *Bereshith Rabba*: "But when they that are bound, they that are in Gehinnom, saw the light of the Messiah, they rejoiced to receive Him," and "This is that which is written: We shall rejoice and exult in Thee. When? When the captives climb up out of hell and the Shechinah at their head."

¹ Acts xxi. 40.

that he could also speak the third of the languages in the inscription above the cross, namely Latin.

In Italy during the greater part of the thousand years preceding the birth of Christ the spoken languages were the Italic dialects, of which the most famous was Latin, which ultimately killed all the others, and Greek, spoken in the Southern part of the country known as *Magna Graecia*. In early times trade relations with *Magna Graecia* and with other parts of Greece in the widest sense had made certain Greek words known in Rome. We see from the comedies of Plautus, written towards the end of the third century and in the early part of the second century B.C., that the Roman populace attending the theatre could understand a good deal of colloquial Greek. From the time at which the Romans began to interfere in Greek affairs, about 200 B.C., down to the constitution of Greece as a Roman province in 146 B.C., the knowledge of Greek in a wider and deeper sense had greatly increased in Rome and Italy. Scipio Africanus was an apostle of Greek culture, and even the unbending Cato succumbed in his old age to the influence of the language and literature of Greece. From their time every person of any education in Rome aimed at a thorough knowledge of Greek. Every household contained Greek slaves, and all the arts, such as medicine and cookery, were practised almost exclusively by Greeks. In a real sense "captive Greece had taken her fierce conqueror captive."¹ So prevalent was the Greek language, that it was the regular thing to speak of Latin and Greek as "both languages," *utraque lingua*, *ἐκατέρα γλῶσσα* simply.²

But if the position of Greek as a second language in Italy was perfectly assured long before St. Paul's time, it is

¹ Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1, 156.

² See Hor. *Carm.* iii. 8, 5; Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* vi. proœm. 11; Suet. *Aug.* 89; Plut. *Lucull.* 1, and a host more examples in Bentley's note on the passage of Horace.

still more important to understand the positions of the various languages in the East. The situation in the East was briefly, that since the time of Alexander the Great Greek was spoken and understood in every part of his former dominions. This does not mean that the native languages had disappeared, only that they were less and less prevalent in the cities, and more and more confined to the country districts.¹ In Palestine, for example, Greek was the one language understood by all or nearly all of the inhabitants, but there, in a country with strong national feeling, Aramaic continued to be spoken by a great many Jews. That Latin was the ordinary language of some in Palestine is proved by the inscription on the cross.

This situation was brought about by the fact that the Romans never attempted to impose Latin upon their Eastern provinces. Where they found Greek in possession as the language of civilisation, they left it in that position. From the very beginning of their connexion with politics east of the Adriatic, Greek was recognised as a second official language of the Roman government. There were definite Greek equivalents for every word connected with Roman administration in the widest sense of that term.² Rome corresponded with Eastern powers in Greek.³

What then is the place of Latin in the East ? A very small one indeed. If we take, for instance, the occurrence of inscriptions in that language in an oriental province as a kind of index of the place of Latin in ordinary intercourse,

¹ For example, at Lystra the natives in a moment of excitement spoke Lycaonian (*Acts* xiv. 11).

² This subject can be studied now as never before in the following works : R. Cagnat, *Cours d'Epigraphie Latine*, 3 éd. (Paris, 1898) ; Kornemann, *De Civibus Romanis in Provinciis Imperii Consistentibus* (Berlin, 1892) ; R. Cagnat, etc., *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (Paris, 1901 ff.) ; Viereck, *Sermo Graecus quo Senatus Populusque Romanus . . . uti sunt . . .* (Göttingen, 1888) ; Magie, *De Romanorum Iuris Publici Sacrique Vocabulis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis* (Halle a. S. 1904).

³ Cf. 1 Macc. c. viii.

we shall see this. There is no reason to suppose that the situation in Pontus south of the Black Sea was in any way exceptional, and I have selected that province as a test simply because I happened to be reading the inscriptions recently published in the third volume of the excellent *Studia Pontica* of J. G. C. Anderson, F. Cumont, and H. Grégoire (Bruxelles, 1910). This work contains a complete collection of all Greek and Latin inscriptions yet discovered in certain districts of Pontus. Out of three hundred and sixty-one inscriptions only seven are Latin; in other words there is only one Latin inscription for every fifty-two Greek. If we accept this as a sort of ratio for the Eastern provinces,—and an extended study of others in Asia Minor as well as some study of those in Syria gives much the same impression,—we shall see that Latin held a place of no great importance.

If we examine these Latin inscriptions themselves, we shall generally find that they refer to Roman soldiers. No doubt the Latin inscription on the cross was intended specially for their benefit. Besides the soldiers who formed part of the regular garrisons of Imperial provinces, there were the citizen-soldiers and other settlers of the Roman *coloniae* or garrison-cities, throughout the East, who constituted the aristocracy of the communities in which they dwelt. We should expect such to have a marked preference, to say the least, for the Latin tongue; for *coloniae* were really parts of Rome itself set down at particular points throughout the Empire.¹

It would be hazardous to argue from the fact that Paul was a Roman citizen,² that he must necessarily have spoken Latin; but, if we follow him throughout his journeys in the Eastern half of the Roman Empire, we shall note the large number of *coloniae* which he visited, where the most influen-

¹ See Ramsay, *Pictures of the Apostolic Church*, p. 121, note.

² Acts xvi. 37, etc.

tial people would be most influenced by Latin. The following list is, I believe, complete :—Pisidian Antioch, Lystra, Troas, Philippi, Corinth, Ptolemais.¹ This does not, of course, exhaust the places where Latin would be useful. Sir W. M. Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* has shown once for all how persistently Roman Paul's attitude was, and that we might almost say that he avoided places which from the Roman point of view were unimportant. Paul is the only Greek writer who uses the Latin forms *Φιλιππήσιοι* and *Ἰλλυρικόν*; and Professor J. H. Moulton follows up Ramsay's remark that the earlier tombs of Lystra show Latin inscriptions,² by the suggestion that "This may involve our substituting Latin as the language of Paul's preaching at Lystra : such a conclusion would not in itself be at all surprising."³ The word *ἀκατακρίτους*, put into Paul's mouth at Philippi by Luke, is convincingly explained by Ramsay as a Greek's imperfect rendering of the Latin *re incognita*.⁴ The same author, too, has well pointed out that the mere intention of Paul to preach in Spain⁵ is sufficient proof that he had a good command of the Latin tongue.⁶ Greek was probably not understood there except in one or two coast-towns like Emporiae, old Greek colonies. But it is in connexion with the primarily Greek city Corinth that we get the strongest evidence that Paul could speak Latin.

Corinth, as we have said, was a *colonia*, and, therefore, a certain very important proportion of the population spoke and understood Latin. If we try to make a list of the names of Corinthian Christians known to Paul, which have survived, we shall find half the number to be Latin : Aquila, Priscilla, Titius Iustus, Crispus, Fortunatus, Gaius (who may be

¹ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *Coloniae*.

² *EXPOSITOR* for September, 1905.

³ *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. i. (ed. 2), p. 233.

⁴ *St. Paul the Traveller*, etc., p. 225.

⁵ Rom. xv. 24, 28.

⁶ *Pictures of the Apostolic Church*, p. 276, etc.

identical with Titius Iustus ¹), Quartus, Lucius, Tertius.² The proportion in the case of the Roman Christians enumerated in the last chapter of the Epistle to the Romans is much smaller, about a quarter of the total number. This might perhaps be sufficient to show that Paul must have spoken Latin in Corinth, but a passage in the First Epistle to that church would make it indubitable, if we could accept a well attested variant in chapter xiv. verse 18. The accepted reading now is πάντων ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις (or γλώσση) λαλῶ (R.V. "I speak with tongues more than you all"), and this must be right, as the context clearly shows that the reference is to glossolaly. The singular γλώσση, probably an older reading than the plural γλώσσαις, offered a difficulty to a Western simplifier of the Pauline text, probably as early as the second century, and he ejected the μᾶλλον. This latter form of text has slender Greek attestation, but is supported by practically all the Latin authorities, including the Vulgate. The only possible meaning of this reading is that Paul could speak all the languages of his Corinthian converts. Paul, of course, did not mean this, but the fact that an early reviser represented him as saying it, joined to the cumulative effect of the small points already brought forward, makes it hardly possible to doubt that one of the unique sum of St. Paul's qualifications for the Apostleship to the Gentiles was a command of the Latin tongue.

ALEX. SOUTER.

¹ Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 205, n. 2.

² There remain only Stephanas (=Stephanephoros), Achaicus, Phœbe, Sosthenes, Erastus, Jason, Sosipater, Erastus.

DID PAUL BORROW HIS GOSPEL ?

(1) THE aim of some scholars seems to be to rob every great thinker of his originality, and to show his teaching as a patchwork of odds and ends from the opinions of others. Heredity or environment are held to count for far more than individuality. No man shall be allowed to excel other men beyond certain arbitrarily fixed limits, and if his actual achievement is not explicable by what others have thought or done before him, much which history ascribes to him must be denied as his. An extreme form of this tendency is the attempt to reduce the personalities of the Old Testament and the New to variant forms of some ancient myth. More moderate, but not historically justified, is the effort to track all the truths Jesus uttered to some Jewish source, literary or traditional. Paul has been subjected to this kind of mental analysis by many scholars, and the impression that is often left upon one is that Paul's theology is not in its main features the free and full expression of a deep and wide experience of the truth and grace of Christ, but a cunningly planned, and skilfully wrought mosaic of ideas borrowed from many sources, Jewish and Gentile. This treatment of the apostle is not a matter of indifference for Christian faith; for by means of it first one and then another truth he has taught can be represented as alien to his Christian faith, and so the witness he bears to Christ as Saviour and Lord can be narrowed and lowered.

(2) We should be betrayed into quite as great an error if, in our zeal to defend his originality, we ignored all that he owed to his heredity and environment. For this would be to ignore facts, and still more to misconceive originality. Originality does not consist in irreceptivity or unresponsiveness to the thought and life of the past or the present. He who freely receives is more likely freely to give. The

original man will enrich his own personality from many sources, and the range of the influences which affect him vitally will be the measure of the reach of his achievements. But we must be careful to make a distinction between mechanical appropriation and vital assimilation. A man may know very much, and may think very little ; for him the thoughts of others are like the goods on the shop-shelves, which can be displayed on demand, and not like the food which is itself changed that it may nourish the body for health and strength. Another man may know far less, but what he knows has so become his own that it enables him to think more truly and wisely. This is the difference between the scholar who transmits, and the sage who transforms the thoughts of men. If we study Paul's writings we shall surely come to the conclusion that his was a mind so active in the service of an experience so intense that he did not merely borrow in order to display the thoughts of others. All that came to him from his heredity or his environment was so appropriated by his individuality that we have not said the last word needing to be said about any of his ideas when we have labelled it with its place of origin.

(3) The fear of the charge of over-subtlety should not deter us from insisting on a further distinction, as a true apprehension of all the data to be considered forces it upon us. We should separate in Paul's theology what essentially constitutes his Gospel, and what accidentally accompanies it. Paul received and expressed many ideas which did not enter into the substance of his Christian faith. To give one illustration of this distinction from each of the two most important groups of epistles as they are usually arranged, the Soteriological and the Christological. As a Jew, Paul had views about law and righteousness which he carried with him into his Christian experience, and with which in stating his Gospel against the Judaisers he had to reckon ;

and yet we cannot but feel that in his own life these views no longer lay at the centre as formerly, but gave place to convictions of personal union with Christ which were far more vital to him. In Romans vi. we are surely nearer the core of the personality of Paul than in Romans iii. Again, in Colossians and Ephesians we have a more developed angelology and demonology than in most of Paul's writings. But do we need, therefore, to assume that the reality of such existences was as important to Paul as the supremacy of Christ in God's redemptive purpose for the whole world ? Not what Paul borrowed is of primary interest to us, but what he worked into his Gospel as a needful part of it. His originality lies in his using all his knowledge to give an interpretation of his life in Christ the Lord.

(4) Keeping these general considerations before us, we may now consider some of the ideas which Paul is held to have borrowed. It has been usual to deal first with his Jewish and especially Pharisaic inheritance as the more important and to treat any Gentile influences as altogether secondary. But Sir Wm. Ramsay appears to challenge that assumption, at least in so far as he insists that the Gentile influences were far more potent factors in Paul's development than has hitherto been generally recognised. His boyhood in Tarsus before he was sent up to Jerusalem for his Rabbinic training is held to have exercised a permanent influence on his personality. "The crowning glory of Tarsus," says Ramsay, "the reason for its undying interest to the whole world, is that it produced the Apostle Paul ; that it was the one city which was suited by its equipoise between the Asiatic and the Western spirit to mould the character of the great Hellenist Jew ; and that it nourished in him a strong sense of loyalty and patriotism as 'the citizen of no mean city.' " (*The Cities of St. Paul*, p. 235.) These early impressions were probably confirmed and

extended by the time spent by the apostle in Tarsus after his conversion before he began his first mission from Antioch. It must be conceded that the Jewish boy, however carefully his parents must have tried to guard him against pagan influences, must have been affected by the sights and sounds around him, and have come to know something of the beliefs and habits of the Gentiles which tended to modify his Jewish exclusiveness. But Sir Wm. Ramsay claims much more than this. He maintains that the Pauline thought is "wholly inconceivable in a mere narrow Hebrew, and wholly inexplicable without an education in Greek philosophy" (p. 34).

While not pursuing the inquiry into "the relation between the philosophy of the Greeks and the philosophy which may be traced as the basis of Paulinism," he yet maintains that Paul has taken up into his thought two Hellenic ideals, for "Hellenism showed how the freedom of the individual should be consistent with an ordered and articulated government, and it organised a system of State education," and Paul insists on freedom and on education as essential to the Christian life. But Sir Wm. Ramsay himself affirms that as regards the first "we can trace this Pauline idea back to its origin in the teaching of Christ" (p. 38), and surely the phrase of James "the law of liberty" shows that the idea of freedom is involved in the distinctive Christian conception of salvation. Paul's own experience in Christ was one of spiritual freedom, and any influence of Hellenism on this idea must be regarded as altogether subordinate. Again, the second idea, the necessity of education in the Christian life, is surely not so peculiar as to need so special an explanation. The Jews, too, cared for education; Jesus had given much pains to the training of His disciples; the primitive community by the instruction of the apostles sought to foster the life of the new converts.

But we may press the question, when did these Hellenic ideas so affect his mind ? He himself speaks of being born in Tarsus, but brought up in Jerusalem (Acts xxii. 3), and it is probable that his training in the school of Gamaliel began when he was twelve or thirteen. Was a youth, even a precocious one, likely to think much about liberty or education ? It is most unlikely from what is recorded of his subsequent career by himself up to his conversion that he allowed himself to come under other than Jewish influences. If these two features of Greek civilisation influenced him at all during his visit to Tarsus subsequent to that event, there was here no contribution of a new element to his thought, only a confirmation and, it may be, expansion of what was his already as a Christian believer.

There is still another characteristic of Paul's thought which Sir Wm. Ramsay traces to his Tarsian environment. In the Roman Empire, owing to Hellenistic influences, national and civic exclusiveness was giving way to universalism. "Philosophy followed hard on the heels of fact, Greek thought, and especially the Stoic philosophy, was not insensible to this wider and nobler idea of a unity and brotherhood that transcended the limits of a city or a tribe ; but the conception of universal brotherhood remained as yet an abstract and ineffective thought, devoid of driving power to move the world " (p. 47). "The greater idea seized on Paul, penetrated and ruled his whole nature, and made him on a sudden able to see the whole truth and compelled him to live in it." What is here suggested is that Paul owed his universalism to the fact of his living as a Roman citizen amid Greek culture. But on the same page the same author says that "the teaching of Jesus rose high above such a narrow idea " as that of Jewish exclusiveness. May not Paul have learned rather from Jesus ? Nay, did not the Christian salvation, as Paul understood it, necessarily in-

volve universalism ? Here again a secondary influence is represented as primary.¹

(5) In his essay on *St. Paul and Seneca*, Lightfoot very fully discusses the relations of Paul to Stoicism. He first of all affirms that "St. Paul found in the ethical language of the Stoics expressions more fit than he could find elsewhere to describe in certain aspects the duties and privileges, the struggles and the triumphs of the Christian life," but he also recognises that "the Stoic expressions, describing the independence of the individual spirit, the subjugation of the unruly passions, the universal empire of a triumphant self-control, the cosmopolitan relations of the wise man, were quickened into new life, when an unfailing source of strength and a boundless hope of victory had been revealed in the Gospel, when all men were proclaimed to be brothers, and each and every man united with God in Christ" (*Philippians*, pp. 302, 303). As he admits the probability that "Stoic philosophy had leavened the moral vocabulary of the civilised world at the time of the Christian era," the use of the Stoic terms by Paul does not prove that he had specially studied Stoic writings, or had been taught by any of the Stoic teachers, who were ornaments of the University of Tarsus, his birthplace.

If the first argument is not conclusive, a second claims our consideration, "The speech on the Areopagus, addressed partly to Stoics, shows a clear appreciation of the elements of truth contained in their philosophy, and a studied coincidence with their modes of expression. His one quota-

¹ The writer most gratefully recognises the great debt New Testament scholarship owes to Sir Wm. Ramsay for the illumination his extensive and varied knowledge has cast on the life and thoughts of the world in which Paul did his work. He does not claim the competence to criticise any of Sir Wm. Ramsay's statements about Greek or Roman thought or life; but with all due deference to so great an authority he ventures to question some of the conclusions drawn, as overstating the influence of the Gentile environment in Paul's development.

tion, moreover, is taken from a Stoic writing, the hymn of Cleanthes, the noblest expression of heathen devotion which Greek literature has preserved to us " (p. 304). The force of this argument must be recognised ; but what the fact proves is not that Paul before his conversion was familiar with Stoic philosophy, but that as a Christian apostle he sought to know the beliefs of those whom he was striving to win for Christ, so that he might become all things to all men. Had Stoicism vitally influenced his religious thought, its traces would have appeared elsewhere than in this avowedly apologetic discourse.

The third argument is that we can find in Paul's letters " traces of the influence of Stoic diction," and two instances of this influence are given : " The portrait of the wise man, the ideal of Stoic aspiration . . . has suggested many expressions to the Apostle of the Gentiles." The contrast is, however, greater than the coincidence between the Christian and Stoic ideal ; the one is attained by dependence on Christ, the other by self-sufficiency. The cosmopolitanism of Stoicism has " its Christian counterpart in the heavenly citizenship of St. Paul " (pp. 306-7), but " the idea is transfigured and glorified." Are not these two features of Stoicism, we may ask, just those which could not be confined to the schools, but would be familiar to the common culture of the Graeco-Roman world ? That Paul was familiar with the doctrines and the terms of Stoicism need not be doubted for a moment. What we may ask, however, is : is his knowledge so intimate as to prove that he made a special study of it ? And further, did the influence in any way modify his conception of the Gospel ? To the writer it seems that both questions can be answered in the negative.

(6) Lightfoot recognises that " it is on the doctrines of the Platonist and the Pythagorean that the truer resemblances to the teaching of the Bible are to be sought "

(p. 294). Dr. James Adam, in his book, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, has given a number of instances of "the real kinship of thought between Plato and St. Paul" (p. 360) without claiming the indebtedness of the apostle to the philosopher. For both "the visible is an image of the invisible," and from the invisible both drew their inspiration; but in this there is nothing peculiar to the two thinkers, it is the general attitude of religion. Again he points out "the parallel between Plato and St. Paul in respect of their conceptions of man" (pp. 381). Paul's *πνεῦμα* corresponds to Plato's *νοῦς* as the higher principle in man, which relates him to God; and Paul's *σάρξ* to Plato's *σῶμα* as the lower principle warring against the higher. Paul's use of *ψυχικός* in contrast to *πνευματικός* suggests that his *ψύχη* corresponds to Plato's "mortal part of soul." If we take account of the antecedents and development of Paul's doctrine of man, the resemblance will be seen to be less close than it appears, and there will be no question of dependence. Paul's use of *πνεῦμα* has its explanation in the Old Testament use of *רוח*, and his *σάρξ* has a moral connotation that *σῶμα* in his use of the word has not. His dualism is an ethical, and not a metaphysical one as is Plato's. Apart from his use of the adjective *ψυχικός* with an acquired moral reference, the term *ψύχη* does not express any antagonism to *πνεῦμα*.

Of the third instance also it may be said that the resemblance is more apparent than real. Paul did not think of the body as "a kind of prison" (p. 385) for the soul; for he shared the common Christian hope of a resurrection when the natural would be exchanged for the spiritual body. If in 2 Corinthians v. 1-4, which Dr. Adam quotes in part, he groans, "being burdened in this tabernacle" of the present mortal body, it is not disembodiment he desires, as did the Greek thinker with his metaphysical dualism of matter and

mind, nay, he shrinks from being unclothed and so found naked, and longs to be "clothed upon with the habitation which is from heaven." On this point Greek and Jewish thought are antitheses. Paul is not consistent with his usual usage of the words when in another passage quoted by Dr. Adam, Romans viii. 12, 13, he uses the phrase "the deeds of the body" as equivalent to the "flesh." For he both regarded the body as capable of sanctification, and ascribed a body to the sinless Christ; nor did he regard immortality as escape from the body, but the exchange of one body for another. That both Plato and Paul use the symbol of marriage to express "the relation of the soul to the divine" (p. 395) is an interesting coincidence which requires no further explanation. That Plato's conception of "conversion" (p. 412) should come so near to Paul's shows his moral insight; but what Paul has to say is not borrowed from any other thinker; for it is the expression of his own personal experience. What for Plato was a philosophical idea, was for Paul a historic reality.

The next example claims somewhat fuller notice. According to Plato "ideal justice or righteousness is 'present' in a human soul just to the extent to which that soul participates in the perfection at which it aims. In other words, the 'presence' of the Idea in the particular means the resemblance of the particular to its Idea" (p. 435). As Christ in the New Testament holds the same place as Plato's Idea of Righteousness, "it is consequently more than a merely verbal or superficial analogy when the relationship between the believer's soul and Christ is described in the New Testament by the formula of participation or communion." "If the idea of *κοινωνία* or fellowship is common, that of immanence is even more so" (p. 436). As in Plato the immanent idea of Righteousness makes righteous, so "the indwelling Christ, 'Christ in you' produces the Christian or Christ-like char-

acter " (p. 437). The resemblance is most suggestive ; only we must not allow it to lead us into two possible errors. It is not Plato's immanent idea that suggested to Paul or any Christian the indwelling Christ. He is personal reality in personal experience. Nor must we attempt to explain Paul's doctrine of justification by faith in some such way as this, that we are held righteous, because righteousness is in the person of Christ immanent in us. We should thus be led quite away from Paul's distinctive thought. The last illustration Dr. Adam uses needs only mention. Just as for Plato, " the whole of nature ceaselessly aspires " (p. 450) towards the Good, so Paul thinks of the whole creation groaning and travailing for the fulfilment of the Christian hope. But Paul had a certainty of fulfilment to Plato unknown.

(7) Not one of these instances requires us to assume that Paul was influenced by Platonism, and the influence of Stoicism, so far as he was reached by it, did not determine any of the distinctive features of his Gospel. Can a more potent influence be claimed for his Roman citizenship than for the Greek culture with which he came into contact ? It is not at all improbable that his Roman citizenship did modify his Jewish exclusiveness, and that it afforded him indications both of the largeness of the opportunity and the urgency of the obligation to preach the Gospel throughout the Roman Empire. It is possible also that his appreciation of Roman government, the peace it secured, and the order it maintained, quickened his sense of the operation of God's will as unchanging law in the Universe. But as a Jew and a Pharisee he did not need to borrow from Rome the august conception of inexorable moral law, which even God maintains in His dealings with men. Of Roman law he knew probably enough for the discharge of his duties, and the claim of His privileges as a Roman citizen ; but his Gospel

was not affected by that knowledge. His doctrine of adoption rests not on Jewish, but on Graeco-Roman usage ; but the sonship toward God he teaches is no merely legal relation, but a real moral likeness to and religious fellowship with God, and is essentially the same as Jesus Himself offers to men. That the legal facts used in illustration in *Galatians* are not Roman, but “ Greek in character or slightly modified from the Greek type to suit the Graecised parts of Asia ” (Ramsay’s *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, p. 370) shows Paul’s alertness of mind, but has no significance for our understanding of his Gospel.

(8) While the influence of the Gentile world on Paul in confirming and developing tendencies inherent in his Gospel, such as his emphasis on the universality of God’s grace, and the liberty of the believer in the Spirit, must be fully recognised, yet it is certain that none of the distinctive features of his Gospel can be traced to a Gentile origin. Had he not been a Roman citizen, and had he not had some contact with Greek culture, it is probable that the impulse to be the Apostle of the Gentiles would not have been so strong and that he would not have known how most effectively to discharge the vocation to which he thus felt himself impelled. But, as he himself again and again declares, he was to his conversion, “ a Hebrew of Hebrews, as touching the law, a Pharisee,” and in the Christian apostle we are constantly meeting the Jewish scribe. It was what he learned in the school of Gamaliel that had the greatest influence on his theology next to his personal experience of the grace of Christ.

His recognition of the authority of the Old Testament Scriptures for even the Christian believer, and his method of quoting and expounding these Scriptures, were an inheritance from his Pharisaism, although at the same time it must be recognised that his Rabbinism shows itself only when, as in *Galatians* and *Romans*, he is engaged in the Judaistic

controversy and so is fighting his opponents with their own weapons, whereas when he is expressing his own Christian experience he does not quote the Old Testament so often, or interpret it so like a scribe. His theology as a scribe of the Pharisees was not one of the old things that altogether passed away when he became a Christian. One instance has already been given. His conception of "the righteousness of God" has its roots in his former Pharisaism, although at the same time it must be insisted that the doctrine is thus restricted in form and not in substance. God is moral perfection ; to be conformed to it is the destiny and obligation, and to be opposed to it is the condemnation of every moral personality. This is a truth for every moral religion. That there is a moral order which must be maintained is a conviction not of Pharisaism only, but of the human conscience. In Paul's argument in Romans ix.-xi. his conception of God as absolute will appears, although it is taken up into his Christian idea of God as universal grace. In studying Paul's letters we must be careful to distinguish the surviving Jewish from the living Christian belief in God ; for the one is not quite absorbed into, or transformed by the other.

In his cosmology, angelology and demonology, as well as his eschatology, he remains essentially Jewish. The element his Christian faith contributes is this, that Christ is for him both agent and purpose of Creation, that He is superior to all angels and has triumphed over all demons, that it is the Second Advent in power and glory which will usher in the general resurrection and the final judgment of mankind. The stage and most of the scenery are the same as in Jewish belief ; but Paul confesses the Christ whom Judaism rejected as the chief actor in the divine drama of revelation and redemption. His doctrine of man and sin has its roots in the Old Testament. His psychology, as has

already been mentioned, is the Old Testament psychology with this difference, that in his doctrine of the flesh he emphasises man's bondage to sin, and in his doctrine of the spirit the intimacy of the believer's relation to God. The story of the Fall in Genesis iii. he takes literally, and regards Adam's disobedience as the reason for the entrance of sin and death into the world ; but he does not prove the reality and universality of sin, and so the necessity of the atonement, by any allusion to this story. His argument in Romans i.-iii. is completed before he introduces the reference to the Fall in chapter v. It is not true, therefore, that his Gospel loses the foundation he gives it, if we cannot with him share this Jewish tradition.

He fully accepted the Messianic hope of Judaism ; but for him it was transformed by its fulfilment in Christ. What he believed and taught about Christ had its basis in his own personal experience of the grace of his Saviour and Lord, and thus his doctrine of Christ is in its distinctive features an interpretation of that experience. It is not merely a development of Jewish theology. Paul taught the pre-existence of Christ, and in the famous Christological passage in Philippians ii. he seems even to represent the historical personality as so pre-existing. This teaching is not accounted for merely by showing that there was a belief in the pre-existence of all objects or persons of special religious value in some of the Jewish schools of thought. For on closer scrutiny it does appear that Paul's valuation of Christ as divine is such that the assertion of His pre-existence seems inevitable. Paul takes up into his Christology from the Jewish Messianic doctrine what is congruous with his own estimate of the person of Christ as realised in his own experience of Christ.

In what is essential to his Gospel of the free salvation of men by the full sacrifice of God in Christ Paul is expressing

the realities of his own Christian faith. Of this he truly said, "that it is not after man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ" (Galatians i. 11, 12). And our inquiry has, it is hoped, confirmed the claim that his Gospel was not borrowed. For much that is more or less closely attached to his Gospel as its theological context he was debtor both to Greek and Jew; but if we are to be guided by the contents of his letters and his own allusions to his former life, more to the Jew than to the Greek. But whatever he may have borrowed of Jewish belief or Gentile culture, all was brought into captivity to Christ, whose bondsman it was the apostle's boast to confess himself.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO TIMOTHY.

XXIX. THE PAULINE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY AS EXPRESSED IN THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

THROUGHOUT Paul's earlier letters there occur frequent expressions which reveal his way of regarding past history. To his mind the soul of history was the will of God. Do we find the same view of the world in the Pastoral Epistles? We may start by quoting one or two examples of the style in which he expresses his philosophical theory of the progress of human history. In Galatians i. 15 he says, "When it was the good pleasure of God, who set me apart even before my birth, and called me through His grace, to reveal His Son in me, that I might preach Him among the Gentiles": in Galatians iv. 4, "When the fulness of the time came, God sent forth His Son, born of a woman, born under the Law, that He might redeem them which were under the Law": in Colossians i. 26, "to fulfil the Word of God,

even the mystery which hath been hid from all ages and generations, but now hath it been manifested to His saints, to whom God was pleased to make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory": in Ephesians i. 11, "in whom also we were made a heritage, having been foreordained according to the purpose of Him, who worketh all things after the counsel of His Will."

The whole philosophy of history is expressed in such sentences as those. To Paul's mind the process of human affairs was the gradual evolution of the Divine will within those conditions of time and space that hedge us in. According to his view, the coming of Christ is presented to us as the culmination of the older period of history and the beginning of the new period; the older time leads up to it and finds its explanation in it; the later stage starts afresh from it. Thus the purpose of God is unfolding itself in all the events that go on around us.

Like the greatest of the Greek philosophers, Paul was profoundly sensitive to the flux and change and transiency of all earthly phenomena: as the old Ephesian said, "All things are in transition," and "You cannot step twice into the same river." Only the Divine, then, is true and real and permanent. The moral side of this idea was specially strong in his mind: "He sighed, as scarcely any other has done, beneath the curse of the transiency of all that is earthly."¹ Under this uncertainty and change Paul saw that there lay the one real and cognisable truth: viz., there is a purpose and a law which works itself out amid the flux of things. The change was subject to a law, and this law was the purpose and will of God, present with Him from the beginning.

¹ Translated from Steffen in *Zeitschr. neutest. Wiss.*, 1901, ii. p. 124, by Dr. Kennedy in *St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things*, p. 6.

The form in which this idea is expressed by Paul is profoundly influenced by Greek thought. That the Divine power moulds the affairs and actions of men as the potter moulds the lifeless clay is the Hebrew way of expressing the idea. The Greek philosophers and poets—those of them who were the greatest and most characteristic Greeks—recognised that the will of God acts through the actions of living and thinking men, as a law which they unwittingly obey and work into actuality, though they think they are acting for their own purposes and ends. Hence Homer already regards the whole tangled and confused web of the conflicts around Troy, as the gradual realisation of the predetermined will of Zeus. The last words of the opening paragraph of the *Iliad* are *Διὸς ἐτελείετο βουλή*, i.e., the will of the Supreme God was worked out to its consummation, or in more modern and abstract philosophical language, the soul of the story was the will of God. The will is pre-existent: it becomes evident to man only as it is worked into history.

Now, since the Divine will is always true to itself, and neither varies nor changes, but is a uniform law of growth, it follows that, if once we catch even a glimpse of it at any moment in history, that momentary glance is true for all time; and hence we may learn to read the real character of this present time, and we may forecast dimly the possibilities that lie before us in the future, by looking back into the past.

What, then, in Paul's estimation, had been this purpose of God, which had been working always in the world, not understood by men at the moment, but now clearly revealed to those who had been illuminated by the radiant truth of the message that had come?

In the pagan world, amid which Paul was born, the feeling had gradually grown strong and taken possession of

the popular mind, that the world was steadily degenerating into ruin and decay, and that no relief from the universal uncertainty, strife and cruelty could ever be attained by ordinary human means. The old order could not be improved into a better system : the path of revolution only made greater confusion.

Such appeared, then, the issue to which civilisation had led in its chief centre, Greece and Rome. It had resulted only in misery, crime, bloodshed and deterioration. On that all were agreed. It seemed to turn its back on the Divine life, to move further and further away from God, and to prefer the madness and recklessness of man to the Divine peace. Except in the appearance of some God on earth, there was no help possible.

All men were praying and offering vows for "Salvation." In city after city, and village after village, of the Graeco-Roman world, especially in Asia Minor, the explorer of that world is impressed by the number of dedications and offerings, beseeching for "Salvation" (*σωτηρία*). This was what Jesus brought, and Paul preached. Those pagans prayed for they knew not what. They asked for salvation ; but they did not know in what salvation lay, or what was its nature. What they ignorantly sought for, Paul declared unto them.

Paul was never hampered by the difficulty, the greatest with which the modern missionary has to contend, of learning how to understand the pagan mind and how to touch the pagan heart. He had grown up in familiarity with the pagan mind. He knew from childhood its way of looking at life, what it dreamed of and longed for. He knew how to make his ideas intelligible to the pagans around him. A Tarsian, he knew the thoughts of the Greek East. A Roman, he had caught something of the Roman spirit. Amid Greeks and Romans he moved as one at home in a

familiar world ; and he played on their hearts as a musician on his instrument. He set before them the Soteria, the Salvation, for which they were praying ; and they found the Salvation which he declared more satisfying, more ideal, more perfect, than they had been able ever to imagine.

While most of the poets, the half-prophets of the pagan world, declared that salvation was impossible, because human means had failed, Virgil, the herald of the New Empire, found it in the triumph of the New Age. The New Rome would regenerate the world, because it was the creation of the Divine power present on the earth. Gradually, this idea, first expressed in the fourth Eclogue, crystallised into the doctrine of the divinity of the Emperor ; and even in this vulgarised and petrified and lifeless form it was still a power.¹

Paul felt deeply this spirit of his age—the conviction that things had gone wrong ; that the world had failed and was growing worse ; that only through divine aid could progress be made and sin shaken off. He called the evil of the world “ sin : ” the pagan nations called it by other names. There was this profound difference between him and them, that he regarded the fault and the cause of evil as due to man : the pagans regarded it as due to fate, or to God, or to chance, and recognised no fault in themselves. In the early chapters of Romans, where Paul states his view most fully and clearly, he assumes straight away that the end of man and the aim of man’s life is to be righteous, and the reason why he has failed lies in himself.

Paul, too, like the poets of the New Empire and the New Rome, saw the salvation of mankind revealed in the manifestation of Divine nature incarnate in human form. This was the purpose and will of God from the beginning of the world. To bring about this “ in the fulness of the time,”

¹ See two papers in the EXPOSITOR, June, July, 1907, by the present writer.

when the world had become convinced that it was the only way, had been the plan of God throughout the evolution of human history. Towards this all the past had been tending. This was the law which lay underneath the apparently lawless and hopeless welter of bloodshed and misery that constituted the history of preceding time.

The triumph of the Divine purpose, the object which the Divine will was working out, was the Cross of Christ. This Cross recalled to the mind of Paul, the Greek and the Roman, that stump with cross-beam on which the *tropaeum* and spoils of battle were hung after the victory had been gained. The decree of fate, the unfulfilled and forfeited bond, in which the curse and destruction of man's efforts was expressed, was nailed to the Cross, as the Roman conqueror fastened to the cross-beam and the upright beam the spoils of his defeated enemy (Colossians ii. 14). The victory of the Crucifixion was the declaration of the will of God, the explanation of all past history and the new beginning of all coming history. The erection of the trophy culminates finally in the long train of the triumphal procession, in which the subordinate powers and the captive enemy were led up to the Capitol and offered to the supreme God (Colossians ii. 15).

This doctrine of Paul is as clearly and emphatically expressed in the Pastoral Epistles as in any of his writings. The purpose of God was working from the beginning, and therefore His kindness and grace towards men were always active, but had become patent and intelligible to men only through the Death of Jesus: "The grace which was given in Christ Jesus before times eternal, but which has now been manifested" (2 Timothy iii. 9): "Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all, the testimony to be borne in its own times, whereunto I was appointed a teacher among the Gentiles" (1 Timothy ii. 6): "The hope of

eternal life, which God, who cannot lie, promised before times eternal, but in His own seasons manifested " (Titus i. 2 f.). This Promise of God, given and published long before, had never been rightly understood, until its true meaning was declared through the Crucifixion.

This Pauline view is fundamental in all the Pastoral Epistles ; but it is not stated there as a truth needing to be emphasised by the writer. It is rather brought in incidentally, as a familiar principle. It is appealed to as something well known to Timothy and Titus, and accepted by them as an axiom from which inferences may be drawn and by which further principles may be tested and proved. That is " the mystery of godliness " (1 Timothy iii. 15), now made plain, formerly obscure.

But it is argued by many modern scholars that the very word " godliness " is not Pauline ; it is strange to his vocabulary in the older Epistles ; and, since it is common in the Pastorals, it stamps these as the work of some other writer. But this word " godliness " (*εὐσέβεια*) is one of the most characteristic words of pagan religious thought. Could Paul, who knew the heart of paganism so well, and who through that intimate knowledge was marked out as the one man that was qualified beyond all others to explain the Gospel to them—how could he be ignorant of that word ? and knowing it how could he fail to speak of it to those who eagerly desired to realise it ? In the opinion of the present writer it would be a strange and inexplicable thing, if Paul in placing his Gospel before the pagans of the Graeco-Roman world, had never used a word which lay so close to their hearts. They thought that men should and must be " godly " (*εὐσεβείς, pii*), that " godliness " was a quality essential in a good man. Paul explained to them in what " godliness " (*εὐσέβεια*) consisted, and how it was to be attained—just as he did with " Salvation."

Why then is it not found in the earlier Epistles? I doubt not that it was used by Paul often in oral address to the Asian and Galatian and European churches; but in the letters it was not in keeping with the special message which at the moment had to be emphasised to them. The full answer to this question would require an exposition of the topics and treatment of every letter. The Pastorals, here as in so many other cases, intervene to complete the picture of Paul, and to show him as in every respect the Apostle to the Gentiles, who showed them that Faith was the force which produced for them both salvation and godliness.

XXX. THE OFFICE OF TIMOTHY IN EPHESUS AND ASIA.

In 2 Timothy iv. 5 Timothy is said to be a *diakonos*. Here Paul, after sketching an outline of Timothy's duties—"Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all longsuffering and teaching . . . be sober in all things, suffer hardship, do the work of an evangelist"—adds as a climax the brief summary of these instructions, "fulfil thy *diakonia*," i.e. perform the whole duty of thy office and charge.

Very similar is the thought in 1 Timothy iv. 6, "If thou put the brethren in mind of these things, thou shalt be a good *diakonos* of Christ Jesus." This also is a summary of the instructions given in the preceding paragraphs. In so far as Timothy performed all his duties, he was a good *diakonos*.

Accordingly, if Paul applied any special term to Timothy's range of duty and authority in Asia, he would call him a *diakonos*. What is the significance of this term? The answer is not easy, but no one hesitates or can hesitate at least about one thing: here *diakonos* has not as yet become a strictly technical term, indicating a specific office in a hierarchy.

Paul calls himself "a *diakonos* of the Gospel" in Ephesians iii. 7 and Colossians i. 23; in Colossians i. 25 and in 1 Timothy i. 12 he names his sphere of duty *diakonia*. The use of the two cognate words regarding himself is exactly parallel to the use of them regarding Timothy;¹ and it seems beyond doubt that Paul considered his coadjutor Timothy as engaged at Ephesus in the same species and kind of duties as he himself performed in any place where he chanced to reside and to find "an open door." Hence the description of Timothy in 1 Thessalonians iii. 2 as "our brother and *diakonos* of God in the Gospel" is quite in keeping with Paul's language elsewhere (though the reading there is uncertain, as the variant "fellow-worker with God" (*συνεργός*) has good authority to support it). Similarly Tychicus is "the faithful *diakonos* in the Lord" (Ephesians vi. 2 and Colossians iv. 7). There can, therefore, be no doubt that the whole class of duties performed by Paul himself and by those whom he trained to be his coadjutors was summed up by him as *diakonia*.

One can hardly doubt that this use of the word *diakonos* is older than the employment of the same term to denote a definite office in a congregation. Yet, alongside of this more primitive use, we find the term employed in a more sharply defined fashion: there are various passages in Paul's letters where *diakonos* is really a title and technical term for an office in the congregation, e.g., 1 Timothy iii. 8 and 12, Romans xvi. 1, Philippians i. 1. I cannot feel any hesitation in separating these passages from those quoted above. In the one class the *diakonoi* seem to be resident and settled officers of the congregation, lower in grade than

¹ Compare 1 Corinthians iii. 5: Paul and Apollos are *diakonoi*; 2 Corinthians vi. 4: "*diakonoi* of God"; and 2 Corinthians iii. 6: "God made us sufficient as *diakonoi* of a new covenant" (Paul and Timothy or Paul alone); 2 Corinthians xv. 23, Ephesians iii. 7.

episkopoi. In the other class Paul and his coadjutors, who represent him in his absence, are *diakonoi*; and to this class must be added Colossians i. 7 (Epaphras) and i. 25 (Paul) and iv. 17 (Archippus).¹

That the word *diakonos* in ordinary usage implies service, humbler rank and submission to orders, is quite certain. This was the term which Paul chose as suitable to mark his place and duties among his congregations, and to describe the charge which he gave to his coadjutors over one or more of those congregations. The thought in his mind was the teaching of Jesus, e.g., "the greatest among you shall be your *diakonos*" (Matthew xxiii. 11); "whosoever shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of Heaven" (Matthew xviii. 4). The same thought lies in the Pope's title, *servus servorum Dei*.

No one can fail to observe the marked analogy between the passage above quoted, Colossians iv. 17, and the character and spirit of the letters to Timothy. What was needed in the way of message and instruction for the congregation at Colossæ was stated in the letter to them and in "the Epistle from Laodiceia" (i.e. Ephesians). But beyond this there was something required in the way of special message to the *diakonos* who had charge of the congregation of Colossæ. This Paul conveys in one brief sentence, "Say to Archippus, Take heed to the *diakonia* which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it." In this short message is implied all that is contained in the Pastoral Epistles and much more. Paul had in mind the kind of message that is suitable for a person charged with the responsibilities of Archippus: such a message might fill a large volume, or it might be compressed into a single short letter (like that addressed to Titus), or into a longer

¹ On Colossians iv. 17 see the remarks in a subsequent paragraph.

letter (like First Timothy), or it might be expressed in a brief reminder (like that sent to Archippus).

One cannot, therefore, for a moment doubt that if Paul had sent a letter direct to Archippus, it would have been in the style of the "Pastorals," something differing in style and kind from Colossians and Ephesians. The very fact that an extra message is sent implies that those two Epistles did not contain what was needed for Archippus.

In this case, however, Paul did not send a letter: he trusted that Archippus would catch what was needed from this brief message, and from the commission which the latter had originally received. The brief message was intended to strengthen in Archippus's mind the spirit of former teaching. Archippus needed only to recall the charge which he had received, and to give attention and care to it. The duty and the teaching were in his mind; he had only to keep the instruction fresh and strong there. The teaching then was all-important and complete; there was in a sense nothing to add to it. It is simply the "sound doctrine" and the "faithful saying" of the Pastorals. The minister and teacher must hold fast to this: if he does so, the rest will come to him of itself through the Spirit.

There is, of course, much more involved in the ministry as Paul conceived it. In a sense, there was much to add; but it will add itself, if the "sound doctrine" is clearly understood and firmly grasped.

It stands to reason that the *diakonos* in charge of one or more congregations would require a special and different message from that which was most appropriate for a congregation or for several congregations. Archippus, like Timothy, would doubtless have been reminded, if Paul had written the letter to him, of the general principles that were likely to be serviceable in the practical work of guiding a congregation. Not exceptional cases, but general rules,

would be stated. Legislation is for the average and the mass of men. The exceptions have to be considered and treated singly by the good sense of the "minister" (*diakonos*) and especially through the constant help and guidance of the Spirit, which Timothy is directed repeatedly to listen to and wait upon. For these exceptional cases Paul, therefore, lays down no rules: they will carry with them their own justification and their own standard. The family is the basis of Christian society: that is the safe principle in practically directing a congregation. Paul makes no allusion to the idea which is so much emphasised in 1 Corinthians vii., that in some cases the highest level of life for certain individuals lies in perfect celibacy and devotion to the Divine life. Those are cases of exceptional individuals, about whom the Corinthians in their letter had put a question to Paul. Such cases must be put aside in the letters to Timothy.

This consideration perhaps explains what seems to the present writer to be the most disappointing feature of the Pastoral Epistles. Although the dangers of the free competition in teaching by unauthorised and often badly qualified teachers (the so-called "false teachers") is in Paul's mind throughout the three Epistles as the greatest danger to his Asian Churches, yet he simply denounces these volunteer teachers, without suggesting a remedy. The only permanent remedy lay in the creation of a system of Christian teaching on a sufficiently high level. Such a system would have kept the higher education in Christian hands, whereas the absence of it had the result described by the late Dr. Bigg in *The Church's Task in the Roman Empire*, viz., that the education of Christian children lay largely in the hands of pagan teachers. I do not think that Paul would have acquiesced in the incapacity of the Church to solve this great problem. His fertile mind and organising

ability might have organised the means to this end, if he had lived longer ; but at this time he only points out the actual danger and suggests no means whereby it may be overcome. Probably, he had no such object in view for the moment : he was thinking of nothing else except putting Timothy on his guard, urging him to “ take heed to the *diakonia* ” which he had received. Only in Second Timothy ii. 2 is there perhaps an obscure reference to the beginning of a remedy for the evil : “ the things which thou hast heard from me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.” This does not refer to *paradosis*, the transmission to successors, but to the actual choosing of suitable teachers under Timothy.¹ Probably, however, only “ clerical ” teaching is implied (see on this subject EXPOSITOR August 1909 p. 185).

Hence in 1 Timothy Paul simply reiterates the sound doctrine and denounces the unsound. If the germ and principle of growth is sound, the rest will come : the Spirit will guide the healthy Church in the constructive programme which lies before it. We may at first feel disappointed that no advice is given regarding the right education which is needed to replace the false education ; but Paul did not regard this as the important matter to urge at that moment on Timothy. “ Keep the seed sound ” is his theme. For the individual the fundamental fact, the sound germ, is “ have faith ” ; for the teacher it is “ hold the sound doctrine.”

This does not mean that there is not a great deal to be added : faith is only the germ : sound doctrine is the germ : but the germ, if healthy and strong, will grow up into the perfect life and the perfect Church without any help from Paul. The germ brings with it the Spirit of God : it is the Spirit of God. The individual who has faith will work out

¹ The verb is *παρὰλθεσθαι* not *παρὰδιδόναι*.

his own salvation. The Church in which the sound doctrine is taught will grow on the right lines of development. That is after all the fundamental doctrine of Paulinism.

On the other hand Paul also uses the terms *diakonos* and *diakonia* in a wider and more general sense to indicate the service or the ministration rendered by one who carries into effect the desire of another or gives help or good to another person or persons. So in Romans xv. 31, "that my *diakonia* to Jerusalem may be acceptable to the saints": 1 Corinthians xii. 5, "there are diverse kinds of *diakonai*": 2 Corinthians iii. 7-9, "the *diakonia* of death . . . of the Spirit . . . of judgment . . . of righteousness": 2 Corinthians v. 18, "the *diakonia* of reconciliation." In all these and other cases the *diakonos* supplies or arranges something at the order and will of another, even although he may appear to be in authority, as was the case with Paul in the *diakonia* to Jerusalem (Romans xv. 31), or Barnabas and Saul in the older *diakonia* to Jerusalem (Acts xii. 25), in both of which the object is to carry and distribute charity to the poor.

XXXI. SUPREMACY OF THE FAMILY TIE IN THE PASTORALS : IS THIS A PAULINE DOCTRINE ?

Owing to the compressed character of Paul's writing, and the way in which he trusts to his correspondents to appreciate his point of view and to understand and take for granted much that he does not explicitly state, it is frequently the case that a quite indispensable preliminary to the proper comprehension of some passage in his writings is to make oneself clear about what he omits to say and assumes as already familiar to his reader or readers. Especially is this the case with such a complex subject as the constitution of society within the Christian congregation, the family relationship and obligation, and the relation of the

congregational unity to the family and to the individual. That this vast subject should be exhaustively discussed within the narrow limits of the short first letter to Timothy, even if the letter were specially devoted to it, is obviously impossible. But when the subject is only alluded to on account of its bearing on other things, this indirect treatment must inevitably be incomplete, and must assume that Paul's general attitude towards the whole subject is well known to Timothy.

This consideration must be weighed in discussing whether and how far the treatment of marriage in the Pastoral Epistles implies a different point of view from that which Paul occupied when writing his first letter to the Corinthians. Assuming that the Pastoral Epistles were written by Paul to his coadjutors Timothy and Titus, who were both familiar with the conditions in the Corinthian Church, we may say at once that he could and would count on their knowledge of his earlier views about this subject. Both had been engaged actively in the work at Corinth. Timothy had been associated with Paul in the Second letter to the Corinthians. Titus had been sent on a special mission to Corinth during a critical condition of affairs in that congregation.

Further, surely, it is equally obvious that both Timothy and Titus must have been offended by any serious inconsistency between Paul's former views about marriage and those expressed in the Pastorals. It is, therefore, unquestionable that either there is no real and grave inconsistency between First Corinthians and the Pastorals, nothing beyond a certain enlargement or modification of the outlook, towards which Paul had been moving in the intervening years and for which his readers were prepared, or the authorship is open to suspicion.

Any seeming discrepancy is, as I believe, fully explicable,

as perfectly natural in the circumstances, through two considerations : (1) Paul counted on Timothy and Titus to understand much that is not expressly stated in the letters addressed to them : (2) Paul was writing to people in practical charge of congregations, and therefore he confined himself for the most part to the statement of general principles, and left the treatment of exceptional cases to the judgment of the administrator under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

(1) One cannot doubt, as I think, that Paul to the last hour of his life believed and knew with the whole power of his nature that some persons were, like himself, right in avoiding marriage and devoting themselves exclusively to the higher life. One also feels that Timothy and Titus were aware of Paul's views on this matter ; and it seems probable that Timothy at least acted on them. He was carried off to the work of a wandering missionary at a very early age, and was probably absorbed wholly in this engrossing kind of occupation. One feels that Paul would have been disappointed, if Timothy had declined from this course of life into love for a woman, or into marriage as a mere family duty. If this full understanding on the part of all three is presupposed, I see no real inconsistency between First Corinthians and the Pastorals ; and this presupposition is easy and natural. Timothy and Titus knew perfectly all that Paul said in First Corinthians vii. and had doubtless often repeated on other occasions.

(2) The family unity is the strongest factor in the unity of the congregation. Such is the fundamental idea in the Pastorals ; and such is the practical fact of social life. This has to be emphasised to the administrators of Asia and Crete. That some cases of celibacy would occur in their congregations needed no notice ; they were aware of this. What needed emphasis was that, when the family relation-

ship existed, it entails duties which must be discharged and from which there can hardly be any exemption. Hence the strong language of First Timothy v. 8: "If any provideth not for his own who are most closely connected with him, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an unbeliever." The Authorised and the Revised Versions seem to misrepresent τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα οἰκείων. By the renderings "for his own and specially for those of his own house" (or "his own household"), two classes are apparently specified; but the omission of the article before μάλιστα shows that ἰδίων and μάλιστα οἰκείων both describe one single class, "those who are his own and specially closely connected with him."

This principle should be taken in the universal sense. Parents and grandparents are ἴδιοι and οἰκεῖοι to a child; children are ἴδιοι and οἰκεῖοι to a parent or grandparent. The parent cannot escape his duty to a child, nor the child to a parent or grandparent. So with other family relations in their order of closeness.

Further, what if there is imminent a collision between this rule and the rule of 1 Corinthians vii. 5-8? What if the father of a household desires to devote himself to the divine life? Is he free to do so? May he argue that, as family cares take up too much of his time and attention, he may shake them off and give his undivided mind to work for the glory of God and the good of the Church? May he conclude that for him, with his special talents and aspirations and character, marriage was a mistake and the care of a family only a hindrance to a higher range of activity, from which he ought to free himself? So also in the case of a child. Can he free himself from duty to parents?

That was a question which Paul had not answered in First Corinthians, because it was a question that was not

consciously present to him then.¹ He was guarding the freedom of individual choice against the universal rule of marriage, which the Corinthians were proposing as a wise measure, and which Paul could never allow.²

In the Pastorals, however, it was inevitable that this question should emerge. It is a question which must often be thrust on the notice of one who is charged with the care of a congregation. Ought one to be free to consecrate oneself to the Divine life, and thereby become free from responsibility for his family? Paul now answers most emphatically "No!" in 1 Timothy v. 8.

I cannot agree with those who take 1 Timothy v. 8 in relation only with 1 Timothy v. 4, and regard it as prescribing a rule only for children in relation to their parents. It prescribes a universal principle, which lies at the basis of Church life and of healthy society.

As to the question alluded to above, whether there had occurred any enlargement or modification of Paul's views during the years that had intervened between the writing of First Corinthians and the Pastoral Epistles, I cordially agree with the opinion stated by Principal Garvie in the *EXPOSITOR*, February 1911, p. 180 ff., that no development can be traced in the Apostle's teaching during the period in which it is known to us. That a great, a vast development occurred at some time in his thought is, of course, certain. He had to re-think his whole view of life and God during the early years of his career as a Christian. He had to grow from the Hebrew-Pharisaic outlook to the Pauline-Christian outlook. That needed much time and meditation, and required an almost complete remaking of his mind.

¹ It is not explicitly stated or directly answered; but indirectly and implicitly it is answered, 1 Cor. vii. 2, exactly as in the Pastorals.

² See *Histor. Comm. on First Corinthians*, *EXPOSITOR*, 1900, I. p. 380 (improved II. p. 287 ff.). I am not convinced by my friend Professor John Massie's diverse opinion as to the nature of the Corinthians' suggestion.

But the process was practically completed before his mission to the Gentiles began in Acts xiii. 2. There is no *essential* difference between the Gospel of Paul in Thessalonians and in Ephesians and in Timothy. The differences which undoubtedly do exist between those Epistles are in part due to the varying character and position and power of comprehension among the recipients. The needs and the powers of a set of pagans who had had only a very few weeks of teaching were very different from those of a congregation that had behind it years of experience and thought. Those pagan converts of Paul had to be raised first to the much higher level of Hebrew thought and moral view and thereafter to the level of the Christian mind.

Moreover, while there was no development in the essential character of Paul's Gospel, there was a development in his plans, and in his method and power of presenting his Gospel to the Graeco-Roman world. He learned by experience how to use the opportunities of that world, and how to turn all the instruments of civilisation to serve his purposes. We know that he made tentatives, and abandoned his first plans, in the prosecution of his work. The roads on which he first entered he soon abandoned for new and more important paths; and he finally made the great Central Highway of the Empire through Ephesus and Corinth the theatre of his main effort.

Perhaps also there was some development in his power of expressing his Gospel in a way that should be intelligible and convincing to his converts, morally undeveloped as they were. He knew their hearts and thoughts from his childhood in Tarsus; but even so the task was no easy one. That his presentation of his thought was modified through experience is evident from a comparison between First Thessalonians and Second Timothy. As has been stated in § xxviii., he is in both those letters much occu-

pied with the thought of death and the last things ; but how differently does he express himself in the second letter ! He had learned that the expression used in the earlier was open to misconception and therefore unsuited for his purpose.

Gradually he learned to fulfil his task better, viz., to interpret the wisdom of God, to explain Christ who is the wisdom of God (1 Cor. i. 24, 30), not merely to destroy the false sham wisdom, but to build up the true wisdom, to be the wise master-builder, who lays the foundation on which others may complete the superstructure. Such is the development of Paul, the adequate expression of Christian higher thought for the first time in the Greek tongue, and not in a technical jargon nor in a barbarous Hebraicising kind of Greek, but in the natural familiar language of the Greek-speaking races.

W. M. RAMSAY.

NOTES ON DR. LEPSIUS' INTERPRETATION OF THE SYMBOLIC LANGUAGE OF THE APOCALYPSE.

(1) THE planet-angels with which the seven cities of Asia are associated in Dr. Lepsius' interpretation of Apocalypse i. 20, are not their *θεοὶ πολιοῦχοι*. In the case of Pergamon, however, there is an interesting "convenientia" between the angel of Mars and the cultus of Rome and Augustus, of which Pergamon was the chief seat in the province of Asia.

The founder of Rome was the son of Mars. After his death he was worshipped as a god, under the name of Quirinus. Mars, therefore, was one of the "patriarchs" of the Roman People (Cicero, *Phil.* iv. 2, 5). Romulus, on his mother's side, was a descendant of Ascanius Iulus, son of Aeneas. The Julii claimed Iulus as their genarch, and by adoption Augustus was a Julius. Augustus avoided

the style and title of royalty, but his principate was really a restoration of the old kingship, and he and his successors were habitually spoken of as βασιλεῖς by the eastern provincials. He was regarded, and not without reason, as the second founder of Rome. Vergil makes mention of him in the *Georgics* (iii. 27) as "Quirinus," and the restoration of more than eighty temples in Rome was typical of the work he sought to accomplish on the whole fabric of the *Respublica Romana*.

It is hardly possible that the author of the Apocalypse was acquainted with the legends of Aeneas and Romulus. Still, it is an interesting coincidence that on the one hand he gives the title of "Satan's throne" to the chief Asian seat of the worship of those Martial divinities, Rome and Augustus, while, on the other hand, Jewish angelology identified Satan with the spirit or "genius" of the planet whose name in the speech and literature of Latium is Mars. The coincidence results from the application of the names of the seven cities, taken in a certain order (which is clearly explained in Sir W. M. Ramsay's *Letters to the Seven Churches*, chap. xv.), to the planetary scheme. But apart from this, "Satan's throne" exactly conveys the aspect and significance of an Augusteum or Cæsareum to the Christians of primitive days. Cæsar demanding the things that were God's was the great "adversary," *the* Satan, *the* Diabolos, opposing and oppressing the Church, "the kingdom of the saints of the Most High" (*op. cit.* pp. 293-294).

(2) Dr. Lepsius supposes a transposition in the planetary scheme which substitutes Venus for the Sun in the fourth place (EXPOSITOR, February, pp. 174-175). The necessity of this transposition is not made clear. With the planet-names taken in due order, according to the orbital scheme (p. 174) the Angel of the Church in Thyatira is the Angel

of the Sun. The θεὸς πολιοῦχος *par excellence* of Thyatira was Apollo Tyrimnaïos, or Helios (Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 320). The Letter to Thyatira is sent from “the Son of God, who hath his eyes like a flame of fire,¹ and his feet like unto shining² bronze,” and the promise to “him that overcometh,” over and above crushing victory over the heathen, is, “I will give him the morning star” (*op. cit.* p. 329). The Son of God speaks of Himself, in the epilogue of the Apocalypse, as “the bright star of the morning.” It is possible that the “morning star” in both instances means the Sun, Christ being “the Sun of Righteousness” (Apoc. xxii. 16; Mal. iv. 2).

Why is the Sun of Righteousness portrayed with “feet like unto shining bronze” looking as though they were glowing in a furnace” (Apoc. i. 15; ii. 18)? No doubt this portraiture has some connexion with the guild of bronze-workers at Thyatira. Is there any probability in supposing reminiscence of bronze statues of Apollo Tyrimnaïos, with their smooth shining surfaces, and of Apollo-statues elsewhere—e.g., at Rhodes, which the writer of the Apocalypse may have visited?

(3) The Angel of the Church in Smyrna is identified with Zedekiel, the Angel of the planet Jupiter and the sixth heaven (p. 177). Zedekiel is “the lord of the tribunal and guardian of right” (*ibid.*). So, according to Hellenic tradition, the authority of judges was from Zeus (*Iliad*, i. 237–239; ii. 100–103), and among the various titles of Zeus was Themistios (giver of “statutes and judgments”). Zeus also is the witness of oaths (ὄρκιος) and the protector and avenger of strangers and suppliants (ξένιος).

The Angel of Zedek or Jupiter is “the judge of life and

¹ And whose face is “as the sun shining in his strength” (Apoc. i. 16).

² Does χαλκολιβάνω represent an original χαλκῷ λιπαρῷ? Cf. Theoc. xxii. 19 (λιπαρὰ γαλάνα), and xxiii. 8, ὅσων λιπαρὸν σέλας.

death " who surrenders his lordship over life and death to the Son of God (p. 177). Besides Zeus Olympios or Ouranios, and in some way a double of the God of the Sky, there was Zeus Katachthonios, the God of the dark underworld. The three judges of souls in the underworld were all sons of Zeus—his vicegerents in that region.

Christ is "the first and the last." The tradition of Hellenic minstrelsy enjoined the beginning and the ending of recitation with mention of the name of Zeus. *Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμεσθα, καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι* (Theocr. xvii. 1 ; cf. Pindar, *Nem.* ii. 2, v. 45 ; Horace, *Carm.* I. xii. 13-18). Zeus, the sky-god, had a domain reaching to illimitable distances, from beyond to beyond the ends of the earth.

He who is "the first and the last" also "died and came to life." The Seer of Patmos did not take the Divine title of "the first and the last" from any pagan writing or proverb to apply it to Christ ; still less can we attribute to him any knowledge of Cretan Zeus-myths. But it is worth while noting that on Mount Ida in Crete a tomb of Zeus was shown—yet Zeus was king of the Immortals. Zagreus, son of Zeus and Persephone, was torn limb from limb by the Titans, but born again as Dionysos (Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, pt. I. ch. i. ; Jevons, *Intr. to the History of Religion*, pp. 356-7). Osiris, whom the Egyptians invoked as "Lord of Eternity," had been thrown into the sea, and his corpse afterwards dismembered. To him who had thus died, but through death had passed into life unending, the Egyptians made prayers which were prayers for "the crown of life."

The eagle, as the form in which the inhabitants of the sixth heaven, or sphere of Jupiter, gather in Dante's vision, is appropriate. Sophocles (*Fr.* 766) and Pindar (*Pyth.* i. 10) represented Zeus' favourite bird as having his customary resting-place on the sceptre of the Olympian king. The

sceptre was the symbol of the king's authority to judge and govern (*Iliad*, i. 237-239 ; Ps. xlv. 6 ; Esther iv. 11). In the Apocalypse, the eagle appears in one scene as a herald of coming judgment (viii. 13 and Dr. Swete's note).

(4) An astrological background for Apocalypse xii. was suggested some years ago by a contributor to the *Journal of Theological Studies*. The *twelve* stars in the crown of the woman who appears clothed with the sun and standing upon the moon suggest the *twelve* signs of the Zodiac.¹ A serpent (Draco) and an eagle (Aquila) appear in the astrology of Aratus. In the vision of Apocalypse xii. the Eagle is sent to save the Woman from the Serpent, and this deliverance of the Woman and her offspring is followed up by Michael, the Angel of the planet Mercury (p. 175), and his host assailing the Serpent and casting him down to the Earth. There may be in Apocalypse xii. a new application of an old astronomical or astrological myth which originated as the presentation of the celestial counterparts and accompaniments of terrestrial events.

The following is offered as a possible account of the matter. In its original form, the astrological myth was an allegory of the story of Israel's deliverance from Egypt. The Woman clothed with the sun, standing on the moon, and crowned with twelve stars, is the Chosen People (Dr. Swete's note on Apoc. xii. 1). Her pangs symbolise the misery of sorely-oppressed Israel (Isa. xxvi. 16-18 ; xxxvii. 3), or perhaps they are a collective representation of the travail of the Hebrew women, whose male offspring (Apoc. xii. 5) Pharaoh purposed to destroy (Ex. i. 15-22). The two interpretations of this detail are not indeed mutually exclusive. Most notable of all the male Hebrew children born in Egypt under the oppression was Moses. The

¹ It must be admitted, however, that ἀστέρων (not ἀστρων) makes this suggestion somewhat doubtful.

catching-up of the male child to the throne of God might symbolise Moses' escape into Midian and the region beyond Horeb "the mount of God" (Ex. ii. 15; iii. 1), but it might even better represent a belief that Messiah was born at that time and caught up to heaven, there to abide until the days of his manifestation to Israel. The Woman is carried "on eagles' wings" into the desert (Ex. xix. 4; cited by Dr. Swete on Apoc. xii. 14), despite the efforts of the Serpent. The ejection of a cataract of water by the Serpent may be taken as a kind of inverted representation of Pharaoh's attempt to surround the Israelites and bring them to a surrender on the shore of the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. 9). In Ezekiel xxix. 3 Pharaoh is the great dragon lying in the midst of the water: in xxxii. 2 he is spoken of as "gushing forth with waters" (Hengstenberg). The drama in Apocalypse xii. 13 f. is transferred from the celestial to the terrestrial region, but the actors are the same.

H. T. F. DUCKWORTH.

LEXICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.*

XXI.

προσευχή.—See *Notes* iii. on Strack's important collection in *Archiv* ii. 541 f. Strack seems to assume that a *proseucha* was a synagogue. In Egypt perhaps it was, for in BM iii. p. 183⁶⁰ (113 A.D.) we find a *εὐχέιον* mentioned as well as a *προσευχή*. Both pay the same water-rate—we recall the fact that at Philippi the *proseucha* was by the river—but there must be some difference: was a *εὐχέιον* a simple "place of prayer," perhaps not even roofed in, like what is called *προσευχή* in Acts? See *Notes* x., *s.v.* *ἄρχων* and

* For abbreviations see the February and March (1908) *EXPOSITOR*, pp. 170, 262.

the paper on this document there referred to (*Expos. Times*, xix. 41).

προσκυνέω.—TbP 286²² (ii/A.D.), προσκυνεῖν ὀφείλοντες κ.τ.λ., “as we are bound to *respect* the rescripts of the deified Trajan” (G. H.). This is the only passage we have noted in which the object of the verb is not a god—and even here τὰς . . . τοῦ θεοῦ Τραιάνου . . . ἀποφάσεις falls little short. Often the verb is without object. Thus Witk. 47³⁴ (=ParP 49³⁴, middle of ii/B.C.), ἐὰν ἀναβῶ καὶ γὰρ προσκυνῆσαι—a very close parallel to Acts xxiv. 11. Syll. 807² (ii/A.D.), ἐχρημάτισεν (sc. Asclepios) ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν βῆμα καὶ προσκυνῆσαι. TbP 416⁷ (iii/A.D.), ἐγενάμην εἰς Ἀλεξάνδριαν προσκυνῆσαι, “I came to A. to pray” (G. H.). In CR xv. 436 one of us has noted that π. “takes acc. constantly in Ptolemaic inscr., never dat., as often in the New Testament”: see *Prol.* 64. So BU 1073¹² (iii/A.D.), προσκυνήσαντες τὰ θεῖα, LP v (iii/iv A.D.), ὃν πᾶς θεὸς προσκυνεῖ καὶ πᾶς δαίμων φρίσσει, OGIS 184⁵ (i/B.C.), προσκεκύνηκα τὴν μεγίστην θεὰν . . . Ἰσιν. The noun προσκύνημα is used in innumerable places in the formula τὸ π. σου ποιῶ παρὰ (τῷ δεῖνι) θεῷ and the like. The overwhelming predominance of the idea of *worship* in the common use of the word must naturally colour our interpretation of the places where Jesus on earth is the object of the προσκύνησις. We may well say that the English *worship* fairly answers to the Greek: we can say of a popular leader “His party worship him”—we can even speak of an official as “his worship”—and yet there is no doubt as to what we understand by the English version of Matthew viii. 2 *et al.* Rightly or wrongly, we think of that which Peter instantly repelled when offered to a mere man (Acts x. 25 f.). The New Testament itself of course shows that the word *could* be used of mere human reverence; but its prevailing tone suggests distinctly more.

προσπίπτω.—Witkowski (p. 72) (in his note on P. Revill.

Mél. p. 295) gives instances of a curious use of this word : *προσπίπτει μοι* (sc. λόγος), "it comes to my ears that."

προσπορεύομαι.—The word is now read by Crönert and Wilcken in EP 18⁵ (222 B.C.). It is of interest from the fact that Mark uses it (x. 35), a *ἀ. λ.* in the New Testament. That this writer, whose Greek culture is so manifestly small, uses many compounds of *πορεύομαι* and never the simple verb, common as it is, makes a striking illustration of a point hitherto overlooked in the estimation of vernacular style. See EXPOSITOR for May 1909, p. 412.

προστίθημι.—With Hebrews xii. 19 we may compare StrP 41²¹ (250 A.D.), Σ. ῥήτωρ προσέθηκεν (his λόγος follows). The confident assertion of Hebraism in the idiom *προσέθετο πέμψαι*, which Luke (xx. 11, 12) deliberately substitutes for the *πάλιν ἀπέστειλε* of Mark xii. 4, needs some reconsideration : see *Proleg.* 233 and reff. there. Add Helbing, *Gramm. der Septuaginta*, p. iv., who goes so far as to call it "a good Greek construction," adding naturally that its extreme frequency in LXX is due to "mechanical imitation of the original." The very fact that no other "Hebraism" has ever been discovered in Josephus might be fairly held to prove that the locution was really Greek.

προσφάγιον.—Several additional citations may be put with those in *Notes* iii. In TbP 736^{46, 89} (A.D. 1) a half obol and 2½ obols are respectively set down for what G. and H. render as a "relish" : they make *ὄψον* and *ὀψάριον* in the same accounts "sauce" : similarly 739^{10, 12} (A.D. 1). The plentiful evidence from Hellenistic writers in Wetstein (on John vi. 9) would seem to show that *ὄψον* and *ὀψάριον* meant *fish*, predominantly as early as Plato, and ordinarily in later times, as in Athenaeus. Moeris makes *προσφάγιον* the Hellenistic for the Attic *ὄψον*. We may quote further for *προσφ.* FP 119³¹ (c. 100 A.D.), rendered "delicacies," GH 77²¹ (iii/iv A.D.) expense *ἐν ψωμίους καὶ προσφαγίους*

(so associated with *bread* again), OP 498³³ (ii/A.D.), “ a loaf and relish ” (G.H.), OGIS 484²⁶ (? ii/A.D.) where fish-mongers are mentioned in the same line, and BU 916²² (i/A.D.) with meaning indeterminate. The frequency with which (as in BU *l.c.*) the προσφάγιον is given as part of a hireling’s *wages* would seem to suggest some staple article of food, rather than a mere “ relish ” : we should be disposed to assign this word as well as ὄψον and ὀψάριον to the genus *fish* (so Field), postulating some distinction in species or method of preparation to account for their coming together (as in OP 736 and 739). In John xxi. 5, the R.V. is supported by the Lewis Syriac and by *d* of the Old Latin (*aliquid manducare*), while the rendering of G. and H. agrees with the Vulgate (*pulmentarium*). The old word προσφάγιον (as in the v/B.C. Ionic inser. Syll. 877¹²) is sometimes confused with this : Dr. E. A. Abbott (*Joh. Gr.* p. 193 f.) argues for the meaning *fish* from the papyri, and then (p. 544) discovers προσφάγιον present in a sort of cryptogram.

προσφάτως.—The adverb occurs in ParP 63 viii.¹⁰, also (Mayser 26) in Polybius, LXX. and Aristeeas. This demonstrates its genuine vernacular character, which ParP 63 by itself would not do : see Mayser’s remarks on this curious papyrus, p. 4. The scrupulous Phrynichus worried himself about the word, being conscious of its etymological connexion with φόνος, ἔπεφνον,* etc. : was it right to say πρ. πρᾶγμα, or only πρ. νεκρός and the like ? He ultimately found peace in a line of Sophocles, though as Lobeck shows (p. 374 f.) there were plenty of other classical instances : the consciousness of the second element in the compound (“ fresh-killed ”) died out quite early.

προσφέρω.—The verb is not uncommon. On OP 496⁶

* We will hope at least that this was his etymon, and not the astonishing freak which adorns Grimm’s page (unrebuked by Thayer).

(127 A.D.) the edd. remark that “*προσφέρεισθαι* is the word commonly used of property brought to the husband by the bride.” So in the oldest extant papyrus, EP 1⁴ (311 B.C.), the bride *πρ. εἵματισμὸν καὶ κόσμον* valued at 1000 dr: add BU 1100¹¹ and 1104¹¹ (time of Augustus). In TbP 407¹⁰ (199 A.D.) *ἃ σοι] προσηνέχθη* is “what was settled” upon the writer’s daughter. Grimm says it is “hardly to be found in native Greek writers” for *sacrificing*. Something very near it comes in the late law-report BU 1024 vii²⁵ of the poor girl whom her mother sold to shame, who *ζῶσα προσεφέρετο τοῖς βου[λομένοις] ὡς νεκρά*. The force seen in Hebrews xii. 7 appears in Witk. 63 (quoted above under *παρακολουθέω*), and in *Syll.* 371¹³ (i/A.D.)

προσφιλής.—This Pauline word is saved from suspicion of being literary,] not only by appearing in Ben Sira, but also by the torn letter BU 1043²⁴ (iii/A.D.), *ὅλως π[ροσ]φιλής σου γεν[όμενος] ? . . .*

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

THE ODES AND PHILO.

It was certainly a *dies faustus* when Dr. Rendel Harris discovered the Syriac MS., containing the only known copy of the Odes of Solomon. The place of the discovery is described with charming indefiniteness as "the neighbourhood of the Tigris"; but evidently we are not allowed to know any more at present. As to the value of the find, scholarship enthusiastically endorses the estimate of Dr. Harnack, that "since the discovery of the Didaché, now almost thirty years ago, we have recovered nothing equally valuable; and in many respects the new find is the more important of the two." Already a small library of dissertations and discussions has sprung up around the Odes, and many experts have made valuable contributions, showing similarities of thought and diction between the Odes and other religious literature.

As for the title, it is uncertain whether it was given by the author or at some later date. In either case, it would seem to have been given at a time when "the Song of Solomon" was interpreted mystically; and when "the Song" is thus interpreted, there are many features of resemblance between it and the Odes; and as there were already in existence the "Psalms of Solomon" and "the Song," it was natural that these should be designated "the Odes of Solomon."

Research as to the *religious* character of the Odes has taken two directions, backward and forward, earlier and later, but chiefly the latter. The worthy discoverer and first editor adduced important coincidences between the

Odes and early—though subsequent—Patristic and Apocryphal literature. Harnack has worked in the same field, and made further contributions of the same kind. He emphasises the affinities between the Odes and the Fourth Gospel, and speaks of the Odes as “the quarry from which the Johannine blocks were hewn.” Professor Strachan, following up this hint of Harnack’s, has elaborated in detail the coincidences of thought and phrase between the Odes and the Gospel of John, especially in their conception of the Person of Christ.¹ Preuschen promises to prove that some of the Odes are identical with “the Psalms” used by the Gnostic Valentinus;² while Dean Bernard, disregarding Harnack’s statement that there is no reference to Baptism in the Odes, has sought to prove that we have here a collection of cryptic hymns, designed for the use of Christians who had recently been baptized; and that Baptism is mysteriously concealed in almost every Ode.³ All these scholars recognise that there are Biblical elements in the Odes, both Jewish and Christian; but beyond that, their investigations have led them to connect the Odes with *later* Christian literature.

The only scholar who has, so far as I know, sought to account for the genesis of the Odes by the assimilation of prior non-Christian elements, is Gunkel, who made a valuable contribution to the subject in an article which appeared in Preuschen’s *Zeitschrift* for October, 1910. Gunkel is fully in agreement with Harnack that the Odes present many features which are unique. Harnack holds that the main body of the work is Jewish, but that this has been extensively interpolated by a Christian; and still he exclaims of the Christian elements: “I know no Christianity like

¹ *Expository Times*, October, 1910.

² Preuschen’s *Zeitschrift*, October, 1910.

³ *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1910.

this ”; and the Jewish author is equally peculiar, for his “songs manifest no connexion with the national Jewish life.” He ignores the whole Jewish ceremonial; and he says just as little of the Law and its commandments as of Moses, David and Israel.¹ And still Harnack makes no serious attempt to analyse the unique phenomenon. He pronounces emphatically that the Jewish author was “no Pharisee, no Essene, no syncretist Gnostic.” “We seek him in vain,” he says, “among such men as Epiphanius, Philo or Josephus”; but he *may* have belonged to the sect of the Therapeutæ, if such men as Philo describes in his *Vita Contemplativa* really existed in the age of Christ.² Gunkel, however, is very dubious as to Harnack’s Interpolation theory. “The Odes,” he says, “have a great deal in common. They impress us at the first blush as a Unity. Ought not, then, our first work to be to examine the sense of the Odes by careful study of the context and by comparison of the Odes with one another and with well-chosen parallels?” Questions of integrity, as those of date and place, should be “*curæ posteriores*.” Gunkel prefers to explain the phenomena by assuming one many-sided author rather than many authors. The author in his judgment was a Jew and a Christian, but not a Jewish-Christian; nor does he belong to the great Church of History. We must rather seek him in “one of the many syncretist offshoots of Christianity during the first century.”

If we would understand early Christianity, we must always bear in mind that the Gospel did not fall on virgin soil. Men were not able to divest themselves of their past when they embraced the new faith. Of course, they laid aside what was grossly inconsistent and contradictory; but individuals would certainly differ as to what of the old was incompatible with the new. In process of time the

¹ *Psalmbook*, p. 74.

² *Ibid.*, 105 f.

consensus of the Church would settle this matter ; but for a while there would of necessity be much diversity of view. Gunkel holds that the author was a syncretist—an eclectic. The Odes failed to pass into the general current of Church History, because, if we may so describe it, the author took too heavy a cargo on board of non-Christian similes and metaphors. He did not realise any incongruity with the new faith in the allusions, which are really polytheistic, to the divine and anti-divine pair of *Æons* in Ode 38 ; the varied dangers threatening the ascent of the soul in Ode 22, and the new birth of the Christ in the presence of God in Ode 36—all of which our author seriously attempted to spiritualise. The legends of “speaking water” (11⁶), “foot-prints left on water” (39⁶), and a “letter from heaven” (23⁵) are similarly used. Thus Gunkel finds in the Odes the speculations of Hellenic mysteries, and not a little incipient Gnosticism, into which the powerful fluid conceptions of Christianity ran, freely modifying and spiritualising them.

No one, however, so far as I know, has sought to connect the Odes with Philo of Alexandria ; but the contribution I wish to make is to show the resemblances of thought and diction between many of the Odes and the religious beliefs of Philo. The author of the Odes was, as I believe, “a prophet and a mystic,” one who sought in many fields for satisfaction for his religious aspirations. A Jew by birth, familiar with the Psalmists and Prophets of Israel ; a Christian by conversion, but not a Jewish-Christian, as that term is understood in Church History. He was a Jew of the type of Philo ; and being an intensely religious man he was concerned to extract the religion, the piety, the mysticism from Christianity, Gnosticism and Philonism alike ; paying little heed to the history, the doctrine or the outward form in which each was presented. I confine myself to affinities with Philo.

I. First, we would call attention to the importance which the Odist and Philo attached to the composition of sacred hymns. We quote the following from the Odes :—

- 16¹ As the work of the farmer is (to drive) the plough,
And the work of the steersman is to steer the ship;
2 So my work is the song of the Lord in His praises,
My craft and my work (consist) in His praises.
- 14⁷ Teach me the songs of Thy truth,
Let me bring forth fruit through Thee.
- 8 Open to me the harp of Thy holy Spirit,
That with all its tones, I may praise Thee, O Lord.
- 26¹ I poured forth praise unto the Lord, for I am His.
3 His harp is in my hands
And songs of His rest shall not be silent.
- 5 From East to West, thanksgiving is due to Him.
- 6 From South to North, confession is His due.
- 8 Who can write the Psalms of the Lord, and who can read them ?
- 36² [The Spirit] placed me on my feet on the Height of the Lord,
While I gave praise, in the composition of His songs.

Now in all this we are quite on a line with Philo. In his *Vita Contemplativa* Philo expresses great admiration for the Jewish sect of the Therapeutæ of whom he says that they were enthusiasts, transported by heavenly love. In their yearning for the immortal and blessed life they looked on this mortal life as already done with. They therefore made over their property to their relatives and withdrew into deserts, where they lived in small communities with others of kindred mind. Six days in the week they philosophised, each in his lonely cell. On the seventh day they assembled for praise and worship. The President explained the Scriptures by mystic allegories. Then some one would rise and sing a hymn, either *one he had composed himself* or some ancient hymn by one of the old poets; or the assembly would sing hymns to the praise of God in various metres and to various tunes.”¹ Moreover, Philo himself

¹ *Vita Contemp.* 3 and 10. (The numbers of the Sections given throughout are those found in the *text* of Cohn and Wendland's edition of Philo; and also in Bohn's English translation of “Philo Judæus.”)

repeatedly extols praise and hymnody as the noblest occupation in which a godly man can be engaged. "There is really only one way," he says, "in which we can suitably honour God, and that is by thanksgiving. Let us practise this always and everywhere, by voice and by elegant writings. Let us never cease composing eulogies and poems."¹ "Every one ought to make grateful acknowledgment to God, according to his ability; the clever man presenting as a gift (*ἀνάθημα*) his skill and wisdom; the eloquent man consecrating all his excellences by means of odes and eulogies of the Divine Being."² Again he speaks of "engraving sacred hymns on slabs, that one may not only speak fluently, but also sing musically the praises of Jehovah."³ If, as we opine, our Odist was a disciple of Philo, he learned his Master's lesson well, in making hymnody his life-work.

II. The author of our Odes was, we say, a Mystic; and as such he was more attracted by Philo's religion than by his philosophy; but he was not quite indifferent to Philo's philosophy or to his theology. The basis of Philo's system of thought was the sharp antithesis between spirit and matter; or rather, between God and the spiritual world on the one hand, and this world of sinful existence on the other. He believed with Plato in an intelligible world, i.e. a world knowable only by the intellect of the wise and godly man, where are to be found the eternal archetypes of things which exist on earth. "The beautiful things in this world," Philo says, "would never have been such as they are, if they had not been modelled in accordance with an archetype, truly beautiful, ungenerate, imperishable."⁴ "When God resolved to create this visible world, He first outlined the intelligible world, that, using the incorporeal and divine model (*παραδείγματι*) he might make this corporeal world

¹ *De plantatione* Noë, 31.

² *De mutatis nom.* 39.

³ *De somniis*, i. 43.

⁴ *De Cherubim*, 6.

a younger copy of the elder creation.”¹ In poetry, so pre-eminently religious as the Odes are, we cannot expect much philosophy; but there are a few intimations. The two worlds are beautifully distinguished—the other world as “that which is invisible,” and our present world as “that which reveals God’s thought” (16⁷); and the Platonic theory of the other world is briefly but clearly expressed in 34⁵: “The image (*d’muth*) of that which is here below is that which is above.” When in Ode 34 our author goes on to say:

That which is above is everything,

That which is below is nothing but the *Opinion* of those who have
no knowledge,

he is expressing the same view as appears in Philo in the *Allegories*, ii. 21: “The highest genus is God, the second is the Word. Other things exist only in name: in reality they are equivalent to the non-existent”; and in another place he says: “God alone exists in essence; because of this, God says of Himself: ‘I am He who is (ὁ ὢν)’; as though those who were after Him did not exist essentially, but in *opinion* only were thought to exist.”² There is another passage in the Odes which is to be interpreted in the light of Platonism, though I have not yet met with the identical similes:

11¹⁹ Everything is a *relic* (or, remnant) of Thee,
An eternal *memorial* of Thy faithful works.

²⁰ For there is abundant room in Thy Paradise,
And there is nothing useless therein.

We pass now to the theology. Philo’s fundamental position is that God is essentially unknowable. The following passages represent his views: “When the soul that loves God seeks to know what the Divine Being is *κατ’ οὐσίαν*, he enters on an obscure and dark inquiry, from which the greatest benefit that arises is to comprehend that

¹ *De opi. mundi*, 4.

² *Quad. det. pot.* 44.

God, according to His essence, is incomprehensible to all and also to see that He is invisible.”¹ [Note the oxymoron as in Heb. xi. 25.] “It is wholly impossible for any creature to comprehend God according to His essence. It is *enough* for man’s reason to advance so far as to learn that the Cause of all is and subsists (ἐστί τε καὶ ὑπάρχει); but to be eager to proceed further, to investigate concerning His essence or quality, is Ogygian folly.”² “We have no organ in ourselves by which to form a phantasm of Him, nor any faculty of perception or thought (adequate to it).”³ “Though we cannot attain to a distinct phantasm of Him who truly is, still we ought not to renounce the task of investigating the divine character.”⁴ “One must first *become* God—which is impossible—in order to be able to comprehend God.”⁵ These sayings correspond exactly to—

25¹¹ Who can interpret the marvels of the Lord?

He who could interpret would be dissolved,

And *become* that which is interpreted.

¹³ It is *enough* to know (that He is) and be at rest.

Philo did not, however, rest here. Though he believed Deity to be inaccessible, he believed that there are potencies which proceed from God, and which are really Divine, but not God (ὁ θεός). These He called indiscriminately “Powers” (δυνάμεις) and “Logoi” (an expression borrowed from the Stoics). “God has about Him,” Philo says, “an unspeakable number of Powers—all defenders and saviours of that which is created.”⁶ And again, “God not deigning to come within the range of perception, sends His own Logoi to give assistance to those who love virtue.”⁷ “God is near and yet afar. He is near by His Powers, which are creative and punitive. He is afar off, according to His essence, so that we cannot reach Him, even by the unalloyed

¹ *De posteritate Caini*, 5.

² *Ibid.* 48.

³ *De mutatis nom.* 2.

⁴ *De monarchia*, 5.

⁵ *Mangey*, ii. 654.

⁶ *De conf. ling.* 34.

⁷ *De somniis*, i. 12.

and incorporeal efforts of our understanding.”¹ Now the Odes often speak of “the Word”; but, in the plural, to express the sense of *δυνάμεις* and *λόγοι*, they use the Syriac equivalent of *αἰώνες*, “Æons.” There is a strikingly pregnant expression in Ode 7. 13:—

Because it is He who is imperishable,
The *fulness* of the Æons, and the *Father* of them.

There is no reason for doubt that the Greek original had the word *πλήρωμα* for “fulness”; and to say that God is “the *πλήρωμα* of the Æons,” or “Powers,” expresses most succinctly what Dr Drummond says of the relation between God and the Powers in his admirable work *Philo Judæus*. “The Powers do not exhaust God,” we are told. “They are only a partial expression of the infinite fulness of God.” “As the supremely beautiful, and the only source whence beauty could flow, God may be called the Archetype of Beauty; but, in truth, the archetypal idea was only one mode of the Eternal Thought and was included with other ideas in that supernal Unity which is inapprehensible by the human mind.”² “God is above the Powers as the unknown Unity which comprehends them all.”³ This is all condensed in the Odist’s brief expression: “The *πλήρωμα* of the Æons.” But the Odist also says that God is “the *Father* of the Æons,” or “Powers,” and this is a matter which gives Dr. Drummond no little trouble on page 100. Philo expressly says that the Powers act “according to the command of *their Father*,”⁴ and this seems to imply personality, whereas the Powers are usually uncreated expansions of the Divine to reach human imperfections. The inconsistency, whether real or apparent, does not concern us. Philo does speak of God as “*Father* of the Powers.”

Far more frequently than not, Philo assigns the media-

¹ *De posteritate Caini*, 6.

² P. 82.

³ P. 121.

⁴ *De Cherubim*, 31.

torial agency between God and man to *one* potency or personality, "the Logos." The relation between the Logos, the Logoi and the Powers is the most abstruse, not to say inconsistent, part of Philo's theology. Happily it does not concern us now. We wish to speak of the help given to man by the mediator, or mediators. The same *ministry* is, by Philo, assigned to all three alike; and we wish to show that this coincides with the ministry of "the Æons" and of "the Word" or "Thought" of God, in the Odes. (Dr. Drummond correctly says that "the nearest parallel which English affords to Philo's Logos is 'Thought,' " vol. ii. 159.)

There is in Ode 12 a remarkable string of attributes, or functions, assigned to the Æons.

- (a) The interpreters of His beauty.
- (b) The narrators of His glory.
- (c) The revealers of His purposes.
- (d) The preachers of His thought.
- (e) The purifiers of His servants.

Now for the Philonic parallels. (a) Philo speaks of "the Powers" as "His interpreters" in *De somniis*, i. 33—as the association with attendant angels indicates; and the "Logos" is also called "the Interpreter," as when Philo says: "His Word, which is the Interpreter of His will, must be God (θεός) to us imperfect beings."¹ (b) The second clause is probably taken from Psalm xix. 1. Again, is it too much to say that (c) (d) and (e) are all alluded to in the following passage: "As for those who are still being washed, and have not yet entirely cleansed themselves from the life that defiles and is weighed down by heavy bodies, angels, the divine Logoi 'walk in them' (Lev. xxvi. 12), *purifying them by most excellent doctrines?*"²

We adduce other allusions to the Word:

12⁵ The swiftness of the Word is indescribable.

According to the narrative, so is its swiftness and sharpness.

¹ *De mutatis nom.* 3.

² *De somniis*, i. 23.

The Odist seems to refer to the narrative of the Cherubim which guarded the entrance to Paradise. "The 'flaming sword' was understood by Philo," says Drummond, "to symbolise the *swift*, hot and fiery Logos." In *Cherubim*, 9, Philo says: "Thought (λόγος) is swift and hot, and especially the thought of God, because it has outstripped (φθάσαν) and passed by everything"; and the Odist's reference to the "*sharpness*" of the Word finds its parallel in Philo: "The Word cuts through everything, and being sharpened to the finest possible edge never ceases dividing." ¹

A similar passage in the Odes, "The Word of the Lord *scrutinises* that which is invisible and that which reveals His thought" (16⁹) is genuinely Philonic; as, e.g. where we are told that Phinehas "had as his coadjutor the well-sharpened sharp-edged Word which is competent to examine and search everything thoroughly." ²

Dr. Rendel Harris renders 26¹⁹, "The thought of the Most High cannot be anticipated." The literal meaning would be "cannot be outstripped"; and a Philonic parallel is this: "The Word of the Uncreated One outruns that of Creation and is carried along most swiftly on the clouds. The Divine Word can outstrip (ἐφθακότος) and overtake everything." ³

We will now place together a few passages from the Odes and briefly adduce parallels from the works of Philo:—

- (a) 12¹¹ The dwelling place of the Word is man.
- (b) 12¹³ Blessed are they who by Him (the Word) know everything.
- (c) 16²⁰ The worlds through the Word came into being
- (d) 41¹¹ His Word was with us all our way.
- (e) 21¹¹ Very helpful to me was the Thought of the Lord.

(a) "What sort of a habitation ought we to prepare for the King of kings? The invisible soul is the terrestrial habitation of the invisible God. Such a house being pre-

¹ *Quis div. heres*, 26.

² *De mutatis nom.* 18.

³ *Sacrif. Abel*, 18.

pared, let us be filled with good hopes, awaiting the descent of the *Powers* of God,"¹

(b) "To the Prophet *nothing is unknown*, having within himself a noëtic sun and shadowless rays, for the most accurate apprehension of those things which are invisible to sensuous perception, but apprehensible by the understanding."²

(c) Speaking of Bezaleel, the builder of the Tabernacle, he says that the word means "In the shadow of God." Then at once he passes on to say: "The shadow of God is His Word, which He used as an instrument when He was making the world."³ Such passages are numerous.⁴

(d) "The Divine Word appearing suddenly imparts an unexpected joy, inasmuch as He is about to travel in company with the solitary soul."⁵ "The man who follows God has necessarily, as his fellow-travellers, the Logoi, who are attendants of God." "Until the soul is perfected, it uses the Divine Word as its guide."⁶

(e) "I will look on everything as proceeding from the only wise God, who extends His beneficent Powers in every direction, and through them benefits me."⁷ "God sends His own Logoi for the assistance of virtue-loving souls."⁸

III. The chief interest of the Odes centres in their *Mysticism*. Perhaps it is not generally known to what an extent Philo was a mystic. He is well known as an extravagant allegorist and an elaborator of the doctrine of the Logos, but his affinities with Mysticism are not so well understood. There are, however, three or four works to which I am indebted and which I would commend to those who wish to understand the inwardness of Philo. (1) *Die Frommigkeit Philos*, by H. Windisch. (2) A delightful article of 64 pages,

¹ *De Cherubim*, 29-31.

² *Leg. alleg.* iii. 31.

³ *De somniis*, i. 12.

⁴ *De ebrietate*, 27.

⁵ *De magistratibus*, 8.

⁶ *De migratione Abr.* 1.

⁷ *De migr. Abr.* 31.

⁸ *De somniis*, i. 12.

by Claude Montefiore, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for July, 1895, entitled "Florilegium Philonis." (3) The last chapter in Drummond's *Philo Judæus*, entitled "Higher Anthropology" ¹; and (4) the chapter on Philo in Bousset's *Die Religion des Judentums*. Drummond speaks of "the glow of devout fervour with which Philo's discourses are irradiated" ¹; and Montefiore says: "Professor Jowett has said that 'no one can understand Plato who has not some affinities with Mysticism.' Now the same warning applies to Philo. In spite of his lack of poetic sensibility and proportion, Philo is deeply imbued with the characteristic yearnings and qualities of the Mystic." ²

There are a few passages in Philo when he becomes autobiographical, giving his own religious experience: e.g. in one passage he says: "There was once a time when devoting my leisure to philosophy . . . I appeared to be raised aloft by a certain inspiration of soul . . . and then looking down from above from the ether, and straining the eye of the mind, as from a watchtower I surveyed the undescribable spectacle of things on earth, and congratulated myself on having escaped the fates which occur in human life. . . . I floated above the troubled waves, *soaring* as it were in the air. . . . I opened the eyes of my soul . . . and was *irradiated* with the light of wisdom." ³ Here is another passage: "Sometimes when I come empty, I suddenly become full. Ideas are visibly *showered* on me, and *planted* in me *from above*, so that by a divine possession I am *filled* with enthusiasm and forget everything—the place, those about me, what is said, what is written; for I have a *stream* [Var. Rg. *ρεύσις*] of interpretation, an enjoyment of life, and a most distinct view of the subjects treated." ⁴ Any one who has even read the Odes will, in the words italicised,

¹ Vol. ii. 283.

² *J.Q.R.* vii. 482.

³ *De special. Legibus*, iii. 1.

⁴ *De migratione* Abr. 7.

recognise their regular vocabulary. But I anticipate. I simply wished to show that Philo was a Mystic.

Such men are always few and find their satisfaction in meeting with a few kindred spirits in small assemblies. This is what the German scholar Bousset says of Philo : " Again and again, in most of his writings Philo emphasises that he speaks only for a circle of *initiated* ones." ¹ Connect this with what Gunkel says of the Odist : " He manifestly speaks only for *the initiated*. Others cannot and are not meant to understand." And again : " There must have been a secret society of initiated ones to whom he speaks, and on whose understanding he can reckon. This is clear from the fact that he, in the name of Christ, gives the warning to his own : ' Guard my secret.' " ² Harnack says the same about the author of the Odes : " He stands within a circle, and cares for the faithful. He wishes to guide, comfort and stimulate them by the recital of his own experiences." ³

There is another coincidence here too. Bousset says of Philo : " His writings, with few exceptions, lack everything actual—all practical reference to everyday life " ; ⁴ and Harnack makes the very same complaint of the Odist : " What the author lacks is the categorical imperative, the bitter earnestness for the good and for self-discipline. The Odes leave behind them nothing we miss so much as a strong ethical impression. Social instincts and a strong sympathy with the needs and sufferings of others are almost absent. With the communal life—to say nothing of the national, the Odes have no concern." ⁵

J. T. MARSHALL.

(To be continued.)

¹ *Religion des Judentums*, 426.

² Preuschen's *Zeitschrift*, October, 1910.

³ *Psalm buch*, 114.

⁴ *Relig. d. Jud.* 413.

⁵ *Psalm buch*, 114.

CHRIST AND ESCHATOLOGY.

AN attempt has recently been made (see Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 353 sqq.) to bring the *μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ* in St. Mark iv. 11 (comp. St. Matt. xiii. 11 ; St. Luke viii. 10) into close and stiffly dogmatic connexion with certain sharply defined eschatological ideas with which our Lord is credited by a number of New Testament critics. On the exact nature and inter-relation of these conceptions there must necessarily be a certain variety of opinion. In Schweitzer's own view, Jesus regarded the preaching of John the Baptist as belonging to a definitely determined series of eschatological acts. He similarly regarded Himself with conscious deliberateness as called to work out the continuation of the same series of eschatological occurrences. Each important act in the ministry of Jesus thus becomes "eschatologically conditioned" in a precise predestinarian and almost fatalist sense. Jesus adopts a certain line of action because He believes such a course to be eschatologically necessary in order to bring about certain definite results. It is with this theory in his mind that Schweitzer writes as follows:—

"The secret of the Kingdom of God which Jesus unveils in the parables . . . amounts to this, that in the movement to which the Baptist gave the first impulse, and which still continued, there was an initial act which was drawing after it the coming of the Kingdom in a fashion which was miraculous, unintelligible, but unfailingly certain, since the sufficient cause of it lay in the power and purpose of God" (p. 356).

The "initial act" spoken of in the passage just quoted is, in Schweitzer's view, identical with "the sowing" of the seed which is the starting point in three out of the four

parables (if the simile of the lamp and the bushel be counted among the parables) recorded in the fourth chapter of St. Mark. The final stage is the harvest, and it is hence held that "Jesus must have expected the coming of the Kingdom at harvest time" in the very year in which He uttered the parables. "And that is," continues Schweitzer, "just what He did expect. It is for that reason that He sends out His disciples to make known in Israel, as speedily as may be, what is about to happen" (p. 356).

Schweitzer fortifies this theory by a reference to St. Matthew x. 23, where our Lord is reported to have said to the twelve, when sending them out to preach the approach of the Kingdom, that they shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come. But Jesus, continues our learned theorist, finding that this expectation, with all its preceding tumults and woes, was not fulfilled, and that the disciples returned to Him without anything special having happened, felt constrained to adopt an entirely different course of action. He practically abandoned the Galilean ministry, and after a short interval of time spent in the farther north, He set His face towards Jerusalem, in order to bring about the Parousia in a different way, but still according to certain sharply defined eschatological conceptions. In place of "the pre-Messianic tribulation" in which, according to His former conception, as indicated in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew, the world in general was concerned, He now dwells exclusively on "His own passion and death at Jerusalem." "That was the new conviction," continues Schweitzer, "that had dawned upon Him. He must suffer for others . . . that the Kingdom might come" (p. 387).

This is in brief the theory of Schweitzer on this part of the great subject. Everything is determined by the mechanism of eschatological dogmatics. The secret of the Kingdom

of God in the parables is the eschatology of the Parousia in a veiled form, and the subsequent development of the idea of the Parousia is also grounded in definite, though greatly modified eschatological conceptions.

Now let us in contradistinction to this theory bring before our minds once more the view to which, in its general outline, we have all been more or less accustomed, though each of us would probably fill in the outline in his own way. I will venture to put it in the following form :—

The secret of the Kingdom of God in the parables is not a veiled form of stiff eschatological ideas, but the innermost spiritual character of the Kingdom. That all the sayings and acts of our Lord found their unity in the general conception which He had of His great mission, is, of course, perfectly true. But the *μυστήριον* of the parables was not specially centred in the Parousia, but in the great spiritual principles underlying the laws of the Kingdom as laid down in the sayings of which the Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel of St. Matthew is the fullest known collection. Closely connected with the secret of the parables is the saying that “the Kingdom of God is *within* you.” The Parousia was to be an outward manifestation by which the Kingdom was to be planted, or rather developed, in the hearts of large numbers of men ; but the secret of the parable itself is not the great outward manifestation that was expected, but the deepest principles of the inner spiritual life at which Christ before all things aimed. The parables contain the spiritual ethic—if such a combination of words may be used—of the Kingdom of God. Schweitzer denies that Jesus preached an ethic of the Kingdom at all, turning even the Sermon on the Mount into a form of predestinarian dogmatics. But we are, I think, right in treating this opinion as a mere paradox. Christ did develop an ethic of the Kingdom, the Sermon on the Mount representing

this ethic as law, and the parables dealing with the spiritual principles underlying this law.

Let us, by way of illustration, glance for a moment at the parable of the sower. A husbandman sowing seed into a field represents a physical and mundane act. But transfer the idea into the spiritual sphere, that is to say the sphere of innermost being which transcends immeasurably not only the physical and mundane forms of existence, but even the intellectual side of our nature, and what a secret, what a veritable *μυστήριον* it is in face of the ordinary world of phenomena on which our minds customarily run ! What a *μυστήριον* in the fullest sense of the word, which the unspiritual "seeing do not see, and hearing do not hear," but which to those who have the Kingdom within them becomes the highest and most important reality of existence ! And does the same kind of contemplation not apply to the other parts of the parable of the sower as well as to all the parables ? We are surely right in thinking that something like this thought, and not a stiff eschatological dogma, lies at the base of the *μυστήριον* (Hebrew סוד, Aramaic ܪܙܐ) as used by our Lord in addressing His disciples on the deepest principles of the Life which He was endeavouring to implant in the hearts of men. It is to these things that the saying, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear," refers, and not to eschatological dogmatics.

But supposing it be granted that the close connexion which Schweitzer seeks to establish between the *μυστήριον* of the Parables and the Parousia be given up, would he still be right in his view of the eschatological basis of the Parousia itself ? It is, I think, safe to say that his opinion on this point will have to be greatly modified before it can be accepted, and that when it is so modified, it will be found to differ very little from the view to which we have more or less been accustomed.

If Schweitzer is right in thinking that Jesus originally expected the Parousia before the return of the twelve from their mission to the cities of Israel, and that in St. Matthew x. 23 we have a record showing that He actually told them so, one should have expected the disciples' faith in their Master to have suffered a great shock, when they found that the prediction was not fulfilled. But we find nothing of the kind. On the contrary, they not only came back to Him as full of confidence in His leadership as ever, but it was after their return, when they were on their way to the villages of Cæsarea Philippi (St. Mark viii. 27-30 ; St. Matt. xvi. 13-20 ; St. Luke ix. 18-20), that Peter made his great confession of the Messiahship of Jesus. It is surely mere trifling on the part of Schweitzer to say that the disciples returned "full of a proud satisfaction" because "one promise had been fulfilled—the power which they had been given over the demons" (p. 362). If they went forth fully expecting, on the faith of their Master's word, nothing less than the great cosmic catastrophe to happen immediately, the entire failure of the expectation would surely have caused them to pause and—to say the least—waver in their faith, whatever other satisfaction they might have derived from their undertaking.

But there is another still greater objection to Schweitzer's view. It is impossible to admit that Christ's spirit was tied and bound with the eschatological fetters which our German critic has so cleverly forged for Him. The Master-mind which could address His generation with such words as : "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time . . . but I say unto you," and which could with such wonderful ease brush aside the many sophisms and see through the cunningly twisted questions with which both Pharisees and Sadducees tried to entangle Him, could surely not have been warped by the eschatological illusion ascribed to Him

by our twentieth century German critic.¹ No, Christ's spirit—I mean even the human spirit, apart from the Divinity within Him—was, we are sure, higher, greater, freer than that. He indeed knew the prophecies, and He no doubt often reverently dwelt on them; but we must not forget that Christ Himself is greater than the Scriptures which speak of Him, and that all the best Messianic expectations of the past, whether taken from Isaiah, Daniel, the similitudes of the Book of Enoch, or other spiritual sources, were raised by Him into the higher sphere in which He Himself moved and had His being. This is something quite different from the eschatologically conditioned Christ whom Schweitzer places before us. It is true that the scholar whose ideas we are criticising assumes that Jesus, instead of merely following up the traces of ancient eschatology, Himself “set the times in motion by acting, by creating eschatological facts” (p. 318). Jesus, according to Schweitzer, created, as did John the Baptist before Him, a living eschatology of His own. But even so, the fetters remain, only they are very largely fetters of Christ's own making. “Jesus' purpose,” we are told, “is to set in motion the eschatological development of history, to let loose the final woes, the confusion and strife, from which shall issue the Parousia, and so to introduce the supra-mundane phase of the eschatological drama” (p. 369). But we are accustomed to think, and we still hold that we are right in so thinking, that it was the supreme

¹ Orthodox believers, who may be inclined to accept Schweitzer's view on this point, would of course call in the doctrine of the Kenosis which may in a case like this be described as the self-restraining of God the Son from preventing error to influence the intent, ardent, and expectant human mind of Christ. But before the Kenosis is carried to such length, there must be clear evidence to show that the erroneous expectation attributed to Christ by Schweitzer actually existed. The argument of the present paper is that in reality the evidence points the other way.

and all-absorbing purpose of Jesus to implant the Kingdom of God in the heart of humanity. We further hold that—as the parables indeed imply—He contemplated a period of growth and development in connexion with the Kingdom, and that eschatology itself was in His mind transfigured into something much freer and much grander than Schweitzer imagines. It is true that some parts of the Gospel narrative do give us the impression that certain acts were done just in order that Scripture might be fulfilled. But are we not right in estimating the real tone of Jesus' mind from the sayings which strike a higher note than that? To continue the musical simile, Christ's own higher eschatological notes must have assumed a somewhat different sound when transposed to the lower key on which alone some of the disciples could play. Scripture, to put it in another way, was ideally fulfilled in the ideal Christ; but when the story came to be written with the less ideal—though still in its degree truly inspired—pen, the fulfilment of the ancient expectations occasionally assumed a stiff and mechanical setting.¹

But if Schweitzer is wrong in thinking that Jesus expected the Parousia before the return of the twelve from their mission, how are we to explain the verse (23) in St. Matthew x., where our Lord is reported to have said: "Verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come"? The answer is that we must range ourselves on the side of those critics who see in St. Matthew x. and in other sections of the Gospels, notably in the great eschatological discourse reported in St. Mark xiii., St. Matthew xxiv., and St. Luke xxi., not

¹ In the case of the expected coming of Elias, St. Luke (i. 17) caught the true meaning of the event; it was to be one who will come "in the spirit and power of Elias." But the cruder eschatological belief required the personal reappearance of that ancient prophet (see e.g. St. Mark ix. 11).

an eschatological problem pure and simple, but a problem that is partly eschatological, and partly literary.

Concerning the composition of the Gospel of St. Mark, we have the important testimony of Papias, known through excerpts of his work preserved in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, that "Mark, having become Peter's interpreter," wrote "accurately . . . *though not in order*, what was said or done by the Christ." But if St. Mark's account, though fully trustworthy as to facts, suffers from a lack of order, or arrangement of the different parts, in the composition, one is justified in assuming that the other Evangelists are similarly subject to a lack of order. To take but one instance—the great eschatological discourse, already referred to, was delivered in answer, not to a single, but a multiple question. This is clear from St. Matthew xxiv. 3, where we read: "Tell us when shall these things (i.e., the destruction of the Temple) be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?" In St. Mark and St. Luke the question, though double in form, is not so explicit; but there seems to be no reason for doubting that in the discourse as variously given by the three Evangelists, we have a combination of answers to the different questions, in which the want of order spoken of by Papias clearly appears. To take again but one instance: in St. Mark xiii. 10 (comp. St. Matt. xxiv. 14) we are suddenly confronted with the far off vista of events spoken of in the sentence: "And the Gospel must first be preached unto all the nations" in the midst of predictions clearly relating to the sufferings through which the disciples will have to pass personally.

But to return to St. Matthew x., Schweitzer bases his theory that Christ expected the Parousia before the return of the twelve from the mission on which they were sent two by two, on the report of Christ's address as given in the

Gospel of St. Matthew. But neither St. Mark (vi. 7-12) nor St. Luke ix. 1-6) knows anything about a prediction of the Parousia in the same address. An even superficial examination of St. Matthew x. will, moreover, reveal the fact that in that chapter we have a combination of discourses, part of it apparently belonging to the great eschatological discourse already touched upon.¹ St. Matthew, therefore, appears here to exhibit the lack of order which Papias found in St. Mark, and we thus find ourselves accepting the theory of "composite structures" (p. 361) in St. Matthew's Gospel, rather than going with Schweitzer, who uncritically disregards the entire silence of an expected Parousia before the return of the twelve in both St. Mark and St. Luke.

How St. Matthew x. 23 assumed its present form, and what its exact original context was, we may no longer be able to discover with a sufficient degree of certainty; but it is, in view of the combined negative testimony of St. Mark and St. Luke, powerfully supported as this testimony is by our general view of Christ's clearness of vision and paramount spiritual greatness, as well as by the continued and even increased trust reposed in their Master by the returning disciples, certain that we are right in rejecting the notion that Jesus expected the Parousia, with all its precedent tumults and woes, to happen within the space of time during which the twelve were engaged in their mission of preaching and healing in the towns of Palestine.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

¹ So far as St. Mark ix. 1 is concerned (the prophecy that some of the persons then addressed "shall not taste of death, till they have seen the Kingdom of God come with power"), there seems to be no valid ground for rejecting the view that the fulfilment of it took place on the day of Pentecost.

*THE ENTHUSIASM OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING
TO ST. MATTHEW.*

It may seem strange to speak of enthusiasm in connexion with the First Gospel. To many readers that Gospel appears as the least attractive account of the Christian message. The fact that much of its material is so strongly Judaic in character, and that the background is so obviously Palestinian, serves, perhaps, to make it the least popular of the three Gospels. There is a feeling that a very large portion of the Gospel is of merely antiquarian interest. There seems also to be a lack of vigour and freshness in its pages. The impression can scarcely be avoided that in many passages spontaneity has been sacrificed to literary artifice and the arguments of early Christian apologetic. The reader misses both the fervid activity of St. Mark and the wide and cheerful optimism of St. Luke, and he finds a certain degree of dulness and stagnation in St. Matthew. It may be questioned, however, whether such an impression is not merely the result of an imperfect appreciation of the contents of the Gospel, and of the circumstances under which it was composed.

One of the most prominent features in the First Gospel is the expectation of an early Parousia. The words of our Lord on this subject would seem to have been eagerly taken up, and possibly over-emphasised, in the circle from which that Gospel emanated.

Recent studies on the Synoptic Problem¹ serve to remind us that there is more eschatological colouring in the First Gospel than in the earlier account by St. Mark. It is maintained that this is in reality an accretion, due to

¹ See Mr. B. H. Streeter in *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, Oxford, 1911, Appendix.

the environment amid which the Gospel was produced. If so, we have a further proof that the Parousia was a most powerful influence in the Palestinian church.

But what were the effects of this influence? Is the fervid expectation of an almost immediate Parousia to be regarded merely as one of the mistakes which are to be found in this Gospel? Was the result of such an expectation altogether harmful, or at any rate stultifying, to the life of the community? Is it true that no sort of organisation, and no system of Christian morality, could be possible until such a belief had passed away? We are often asked to accept a picture of primitive Christianity which gives us an impression that the expectation of the Coming of our Lord over-shadowed, and almost obliterated, all else.

Let us take first the question of morality. In this sphere the Parousia was neither a deadening obstacle, nor a mere stimulant, having no more than a momentary effect. It is not without significance that in the First Gospel, which is, in its contents at least, the most eschatological of the three, we have great prominence given to moral teaching, and to the ethical requirements for entrance to the Kingdom of Heaven. And this is not mere "interim ethics," in the sense that it is to serve only for the time-being. There is a carefulness of reproduction, and a painstaking attention to grouping, which shows that the author was quite serious as to the importance of morality for the Christian life. The strong feelings of hatred which he evinces for the Pharisees seem to make him the more anxious to show that the morality of the Christians does actually exceed that "of the Scribes and Pharisees." There is, then, no relaxation of moral requirements in view of the expected Parousia. Nor is there any universal call to the practice of asceticism in anticipation of that event. Self-denial rather than asceticism is the note of Christ's moral teaching

in the Gospel of St. Matthew. In St. Paul the fact that "the time is shortened"¹ seems to be responsible in some degree for his preference for the celibate life, and it is interesting to note that the reference to those who have "made themselves eunuchs"² with a view to entering the Kingdom of Heaven, or for the sake of furthering its cause, is to be found only in the First Gospel, which, as we have seen, may fairly be called the most eschatological. But even if asceticism in this respect is singled out for praise, it is nowhere made into a precept. So then, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, the influence of eschatological considerations is to be seen in an enthusiastic but orderly morality. And the fact of its orderliness is still further evident when we consider that the carrying out of moral principles is brought into relation with the action of the church—"tell it unto the church: and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican."³ The ethic of the Christian is in no sense individualist. So also in the parable of the Unmerciful Servant, which immediately follows, it is the "fellow-servants" who are "exceeding sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done."⁴

This brings us to consider what was the effect of this expectation of the Parousia upon the common life of the community in respect to organisation. No doubt it is true that little attention could be given to details regarding Apostolic succession, if a belief was held that one at least of the Apostles should "tarry till I come."⁵ Yet this does not mean that no steps were to be taken to regulate the life of the Christians who were gathered together. It is worthy of notice that the word "church" is mentioned only

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 29.

² Matt. xii. 19.

³ Matt. xviii. 17.

⁴ Matt. xviii. 31.

⁵ John xvi. 22, 23.

in the First Gospel. It would seem as if some attention to organisation was not incompatible with a lively expectation of an early return of our Lord. There is, surely, no need to suppose textual interpolation in these passages, if any other explanation is forthcoming. Those who are acquainted with the history of the Irvingite movement know well that a belief in an almost immediate Advent may do much to foster the corporate feeling of a religious body. The Gospel of St. Matthew, may well be a "church" Gospel, and, though local in character, what is lost in extent is perhaps made up for by a gain in intensity. There are many signs besides the mention of the word "church," that the First Gospel is in some sense an ecclesiastical book. The division of the Gospel into sections seems to have been done with a view to public reading in church. More than one parable recorded only by this Evangelist has a direct bearing upon the problems of the primitive community. There are indications also of an almost pastoral care exercised by the community for its "little ones." In view of the great event they are to be kept safe from all harm. The parable of the Lost Sheep, with its reference to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel," is to be contrasted with St. Luke's parables of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Drachma with their wider reference to publicans and sinners.¹ Again we have to notice in the account of the "faithful and wise servant" that our Evangelist alone mentions the possible ill-treatment of the "fellow-servants,"² There is, then, a very strong corporate feeling in the Gospel according to St. Matthew. The Christian body is to be kept inviolate, even at the cost of allowing the Tares to exist side by side with the Wheat. No doubt the thought that the Harvest was not far off made such a principle easier of application.³

¹ Contrast Matt. xviii. 10-14 with Luke xv. 3-10.

² Matt. xxiv. 45-51.

³ Matt. xiii. 29.

If, then, there was this feeling of solidarity, we cannot be surprised that there was also a certain, perhaps excessive, bitterness against those who remained outside the community. Toleration is very often absent from those in whom enthusiasm is strongest. Hence we are not surprised to find in this Gospel strong denunciations of the Jews, and more especially of the Pharisees, the counter-enthusiasts of the Christians in Palestine.

Further, a corporate feeling must find expression in corporate action and, in the case of a religious community, in corporate worship. Our Lord gave three great commands to His disciples, which should mould from the first the worship of the Church, viz., to pray as He had taught them, to celebrate His Eucharist, and to bring men to His Baptism. That these commands were obeyed in the early Palestinian church we know both from this Gospel and the *Didachē*. In the Lord's Prayer, in the account of the institution of the Eucharist, and in the command to baptize, we seem to find evidences of "liturgical interpolation" in the text of St. Matthew. These are of great value, as showing the practice of the early community, which may be further illustrated from the contents of the *Didachē*. But what is, perhaps, even more interesting is that the inspiration for such observance was the remembrance of our Lord's words as to His Coming. The Parousia was brought into connexion with all three commands by our Lord Himself, and cannot have been forgotten by the earliest believers, or by those who immediately inherited their traditions.

With regard to the command to pray we find that our Lord more than once combines with it the injunction to "watch." And no doubt for the earliest Christians the watching for the Advent was a great incentive to prayer. While the importance of the Vigil has possibly been exaggerated, yet it seems to have played a considerable

part in the framing of the Church's system of devotions. Further, the model of all prayer contains the clause, "Thy kingdom come," words which would have a very vivid meaning to those who watched while they prayed.

Secondly, as regards the Eucharist, while the references to the Parousia are, perhaps, less outspoken, the influence of the expectation of that event is quite as noticeable. We may feel sure that St. Paul was not introducing a new thought when he said, "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till He come."¹ The Eucharist may well have been regarded as a feast which was to be preliminary to the great Feast of the kingdom, when it should come. Our Lord's words as to His drinking wine "new with you in my Father's kingdom" would be likely to support such an idea. We have already referred to the liturgical interpolations, which St. Matthew's account of the institution seems to contain,² as evidence that the Eucharist was actually celebrated in the early Palestinian church, and doubtless it was often with the "special intention" of preparing for the Parousia.

Thirdly, as regards our Lord's command to baptize.³ We are not here concerned with the question of the Trinitarian formula in St. Matthew. The command is there, whatever "the Name" may have been. As in the case of John's baptism, the fact that the kingdom was "at hand" would serve to bring people eagerly to the Christian rite of initiation. There would be a feeling that the unbaptized would not be ready to meet their Lord. This feeling, perhaps, went so far that even the dead were baptized, as

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 26.

² Matt. xxvi. 26; *πλερε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες*, and *ἐἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* are peculiar to St. Matthew.

³ Matt. xxviii. 19.

it were, by proxy.¹ The expectation of an early Parousia cannot very well be said to have led to a neglect of all external religious observance, or a distaste for Christian rites. Once again we may be allowed to point to the history of the Irvingite movement for a parallel.

Further, as to the universality of Christ's injunction to baptize. Difficulty is often felt in reconciling this reference to "all nations" with the tone of the rest of the Gospel. But it is to be remembered that discipleship is required as well as baptism, so that room would be left for instruction in the Law of Moses as a preliminary to Baptism, in accordance with the spirit of this Gospel. Also it is to be noticed that the preaching of the gospel to the nations² is to be "for a testimony," that is to say, before the end comes. The Coming of the Kingdom was to be a spur to this missionary effort, even though it did not leave time for such evangelisation to be very thorough. Here again we may refer to Irvingism with its "Great Testimony." So then we have seen that the expectation of the Parousia served as an inducement to the carrying out of Christ's three great commands.

But this does not mean that there was a lack of devotion to the Person of our Lord Himself. The watching for the Coming was very largely due to a desire to "see the Lord" in person,³ while the nearness of the Advent would serve to keep up a high pitch of devotion amongst those who were waiting for the Lord. The communion with Christ which was thus formed on earth was soon to be consummated in heaven. The Parousia was the end of men's hopes and prayers, while it was also an incentive, and not an obstacle, to their devotion. In this way we can,

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 29.

² Matt. xxiv. 14.

³ Cf. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 372 ff., on *παρουσία* as the technical word for the arrival or visit of the emperor.

perhaps, partly account for the attention given to the fulfilment of prophecy in this Gospel. It is usual to explain this by the need for anti-Jewish apologetic. No doubt such a consideration does very largely account for the notices of the fulfilment of prophecy which we find in this Gospel, but they may also have had a nobler origin. The desire to "search the Scriptures" may have been inspired by a devotion to the Person of our Lord quite as much as by the needs of early Christian apologetic. The primitive Church, whether in Palestine or elsewhere, was not primarily a Christian Evidence Society. And in the circle from which the First Gospel would seem to have emanated we find many reasons for supposing that devotion would find expression in such a form. Church life was intense rather than extensive, parochial rather than missionary, contemplative rather than actively busied in evangelisation. The desire to know more about Christ, not only as the Teacher, but also as the Fulfilment of Prophecy, was quite natural in such a community, apart from any controversial requirements. The fact that many of the parallels from prophecy in this Gospel are not a little fanciful is due, perhaps, not merely to their argumentative and Rabbinical character, but also to their devotional origin. The Odes of Solomon show us that the devotions of the early Christians might be not only fanciful, but grotesque.¹

From this survey of some of the leading characteristics of the First Gospel we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the expectation of an almost immediate Parousia, so far from deadening or stultifying the religious life of the community, was rather an incentive towards an enthusiasm of a corporate character.

It cannot be said that morals were neglected, or that the worship of the Church suffered from such expectation.

¹ See especially Ode xix.

Devotion would seem to have been deepened, while the necessity of evangelisation, "as a testimony," was realised.

Yet it may be alleged that this particular Gospel contains parables which show that the Kingdom is essentially a growth rather than a great event or catastrophe. This is true; but it must be remembered that these parables would probably be explained by the first readers of the Gospel in a very different way. In the parable of the Mustard-seed, for example, the suddenness rather than the gradual character of the growth would doubtless be emphasised in view of "the shortness of the time." Again, the reference to the "birds of the heaven" who come to lodge in the branches of the tree would suggest the apocalyptic visions of the book of Daniel. In the same way the secret working of the Leaven, until suddenly the whole lump is found to be leavened, is not entirely inconsistent with the coming of the Kingdom like a thief in the night.¹

In conclusion, then, we may say that there is no reason for us to neglect the First Gospel on account of an imagined dulness in its pages. On the contrary, the Gospel possesses a great interest as reflecting the fervour and enthusiasm of the community in which it was produced. It is the Gospel of a church—a local church, it may be—but yet a church which was keenly alive. If St. Luke's is the missionary, St. Matthew's is the "parochial" Gospel, and both have their value, for each reflects in its own way the enthusiasm of early Christianity.

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¹ Cp. Matt. xxiv. 43.

OTHER-WORLDLINESS AND APOCALYPTICISM.

“THE expectations of vindication and judgment to come, the imagery of the Messianic Feast, the ‘other-worldliness’ against which so many eloquent words were said in the nineteenth century, are not to be regarded as regrettable accretions foisted on by superstition to the pure morality of the original Gospel. These ideas are the Christian Hope.” With these words Dr. Burkitt has welcomed the results of Dr. Albert Schweitzer’s re-examination of the life and teaching of Jesus in the light of the findings of many scholars during nearly 150 years. Father Tyrrell was one of the first English scholars to detect and seize upon the value of the “transcendent” or “other-worldly” principle which the modern apocalyptic movement has rediscovered as an essential, or rather the essential, feature of the Christian faith. His last book, flashing and piercing, like a rapier in a desperate swordsman’s hand, is the work of a man wholly under the sway of those new ideas of Weiss and his colleagues that seem to carry us right back to those oldest ideas which throbbed at the very heart of the Founder of our faith. And since *Christianity at the Cross Roads* appeared, other British theologians, such as Dr. J. Hope Moulton, have not hesitated to take up a like position and charge us all to find salvation for the new century in the eschatological ideas which bulk so greatly in the teaching of Jesus.

It is not to be denied that there is something that mightily fascinates us in this restatement of an old idea that many had thought slain beyond recovery, and we are all doubtless ready enough to listen to the admonitions which are becoming steadily more insistent that we take the other-worldliness of the Gospel in greater earnest. May we not indeed say, without further ado, that if this new eschatological move-

ment, as represented by Weiss and Wrede and Schweitzer, can make us realise how imperiously our Lord denies the present world, it has its definite providential function? On one point, however, it is well we should be clear. The practical lesson of other-worldliness, and insistence upon the fact that the chief blessings of Christianity are conferred upon us by way of its other-worldliness, are not the only, or even the most characteristic elements of this apocalypticism. We cannot come to the simple conclusion that "other-worldliness is good, this movement promotes other-worldliness, and therefore we must accept its argument and press its conclusions." For, in that case, what is to be our attitude to Schweitzer and Tyrrell and, apparently, Dr. Burkitt, when they insist that we also accept the whole argument upon which their view of the essential other-worldliness of Christianity is based? The Germans have a proverb: "Who says A, says B." And if it be true that when you affirm any proposition you also affirm that which can be deduced from it, it may be plausibly argued in inverse order that if you say Z you have said the whole alphabet—if you accept Schweitzer's conclusion, you accept all the reasoning which leads up to it. But can we do this? Ought we not rather, like Professor Inge, to regard this alphabet of Schweitzer's as blasphemous? May it not be that to welcome the modern apocalyptic theory for its other-worldliness is like drinking a cup of poison in order not to lose the pearl dissolved in it? Let us look into the matter.

Schweitzer's position is the latest stage in a process which has now been going on for several generations of scholars. This process is the critical investigation of the life of Jesus. It begins with the Wolfenbüttel Fragments of Remarus published in 1778, ten years after the death of their author, and it moves steadily on, to what goal no one can definitely forecast, until at the present it hesitates between the nihilism

of Professor Drews and the apocalypticism of Schweitzer. We cannot here trace the development of this process. It will be sufficient to remind ourselves of its course by reference to such outstanding names as those of Herder and Strauss, of Bruno Bauer and Keim, of Kalthoff and Wernle, of Harnack and Bousset, and by the general statement that the aim of the whole movement has been to distinguish between the Christ of faith and the Jesus of history. This distinction can only be set up in one way—by the criticism of the Jesus of history. The Christ of faith we know. He is set forth in the New Testament, glorified in the Creeds, and tasted in personal experience. But what of the Jesus of history? The church has always maintained, through good report and ill, that the Christ of faith and the Jesus of history are one. But has not this assertion itself been an act of faith? How far then ought we to expect historical research to establish the Christian doctrine of the historicity of its central figure, Christ? This, however, is a metaphysical question only to be answered with great deliberation. But if, apart from speculation as to the possibility of historical research serving the full purposes of faith, we turn ourselves to look at the actual achievements of historians, we find ourselves in a less perplexing region. The succession of scholars to whom I have referred, a veritable galaxy of talent, learning, industry and devotion, have assumed that historical investigation could settle the matter, and have set themselves the definite and momentous task of rescuing the figure of Jesus from the domain of faith. With what result? With the result that they have passed from one negative position to the next until they have come to the points occupied respectively by Drews and Schweitzer. That is to say, until they conclude either that there never was any historical figure to be related to the Christ of faith, as does Drews, or that the actual Jesus from whom the

Christ of faith is strangely derived, was a being quite incomprehensible to men equipped with modern knowledge—including, of course, a knowledge of history as construed to-day. This is in itself a most important fact—a fact that will well repay the most particular investigation, the fact that the effort to take Jesus wholly out of the world of faith and to put Him into the natural historical setting of the world as conceived by the evolutionist, results in complete failure, for it results either in denying the existence of Jesus, or in denying His intelligibility. For to say that Jesus never existed is simply to hold all scientific method up to mockery, while to say that He is incomprehensible to science is for science to abdicate—for science is *knowing*. There is therefore here a problem for the metaphysician. We cannot however in this paper do more than indicate the line of its solution, namely, that the historian's claim to take Jesus out of the world of faith is a pretence. We shall see as we go along that historical science never does act *in vacuo*. Every historian operates in the atmosphere of some belief—if not Christian belief, then some other. But this will become clearer as we go on.

With Drews we need not concern ourselves. His position is a nihilism—Jesus is a myth and never really lived. And Drews has been received with mockery. Theologians of the religious-historical school like Gunkel have taken the platform against him. And yet all that Gunkel and his fellows can affirm is that a man named Jesus of Nazareth did exist and was intimately concerned in events which led up to the formation of the Christian religion. For them too in the main the Christ of faith is a myth, and has little or nothing in common with the Jesus of history. And as for Schweitzer and the apocalypticists, they seem to be essentially nearer Drews than they are to the religious-historical school pure and simple. They do indeed affirm *something* about Jesus.

But what is that something? This is what Schweitzer says: "There is nothing more negative than the result of the critical study of the life of Jesus. The Jesus of Nazareth who came forward publicly as the Messiah, who preached the ethic of the kingdom of God, who founded the kingdom of heaven upon earth, and died to give His work its final consecration, never had any existence." This whole figure, according to Schweitzer, belongs to the domain of faith; it is a theological fiction. But if so, what is the historical truth? Schweitzer's answer is that the historical truth is almost as incredible as the theological fiction. Over and over again he warns us that the historical Jesus is bound to be an enigma to us moderns. "Jesus," he says, in a passage of extraordinary force, "as a concrete historical personality remains a stranger to our time." Why? Because He belonged completely to His own time, and in that was dominated by one idea which has lost all credibility and meaning for us to-day, and which, therefore, we never can truly appreciate. He was a man eaten up by the Messianic eschatology of His day. He had imbibed the apocalyptic ideas of His race until He had become obsessed by the notion that He was the "Son of Man" and that, after He had died to make up for the slackness and sin of His countrymen, He should come again in the clouds as the Messiah foretold by Daniel. This was a secret which Jesus cherished in His own breast but never uttered publicly until His trial. Schweitzer asserts that Jesus never proclaimed Himself Messiah, but was sentenced to death because Judas betrayed this secret to the priests. This secret conviction that He was the Danielic Son of Man is then to Schweitzer the key by which we must interpret the whole life and teaching of Jesus. Did Jesus concern Himself with morals? No, says Schweitzer, His so-called ethic is simply a series of warnings that men may be prepared for the Second Coming which He foresaw. Did

Jesus seek to found a kingdom of heaven on earth ? No, for His whole interest was absorbed in anticipating that miraculous cataclysm which should put an end to this age once and for all. Did Jesus die that sinners might be saved ? No, but merely in order to hasten the end of the age. Did Jesus rise again ? No, for His own Messianic hope was after all an illusion. These are the words with which Schweitzer finishes his sketch of the life of Jesus : “ At midday of the same day—it was the 14th Nisan, on the evening of which the Paschal lamb was eaten—Jesus cried aloud and expired. He had chosen to remain fully conscious to the last.” What then is Dr. Schweitzer’s view of Jesus ? We do him no injustice if, putting aside those reverent phrases which sometimes obscure the issue, and breaking those silences which may be as blasphemous as any speech, we say that in his view Jesus was a fierce fanatic, gripped by a superstitious fancy which thrust all moral and humanitarian notions aside ; afflicted with a pathetic if noble *idée fixe*, and going down swiftly into the grave which He schemed for Himself, never to rise again. Indeed and indeed, such a being we cannot understand ; and indeed and indeed, though we might pity, we could never worship Him or His God.

We see then that the other-worldliness of this movement, however good it might be in itself, is not *in itself*. It is bound up with a series of historical negations than which nothing surely could be less calculated to commend the other-worldly spirit. If Schweitzer is right, then it is not the other-worldliness of Jesus, but the will to live of Nietzsche, that will triumph. Let a man preach *this* other-worldliness either in Mayfair or in Houndsditch, and will any man lift his hand, let alone dedicate his life, to the service of such a Christ ? Indeed, who among us, unless still unconsciously dominated by the ideas of Jesus, loving and yet kingly, dying for us and yet reigning in heaven, that we learnt in

childhood's simplicity, would waste more than a curious moment upon the weird and superstitious bigot who died by the outraged sense of decency of his compatriots 1,900 years ago? Yes, Christianity is at the Cross Roads, as Father Tyrrell said, but it is not the crossing of the roads of worldliness and other-worldliness: it is not a mere crisis in apocalyptic theory, or even in theology generally: it is the uncompromising radical cross roads of life and death: "To be or—not to be." If Schweitzer and his friends win the day, it is not only the Jesus of history who becomes strange and incomprehensible to our time, but the Christ of faith. And this Schweitzer at least sees clearly enough: "The greatest achievement of German theology," he says, "is the critical investigation of the life of Jesus . . . In the history of doctrine its work has been negative; it has, so to speak, cleared the site for a new edifice of religious thought." Cleared the site! Yes, indeed, torn down the ancient edifice of apostolic doctrine and swept the lumber away. Good work! and all we want now is—a new religion. Who shall give it us? It is said that during the years that followed the French Revolution a philosopher came to Talleyrand. "I have made a new religion," he said, "but no one will accept it. What must I do?" And Talleyrand made the immortal answer: "Get yourself crucified and rise again the third day: then people will believe." Yes, that would make people believe. And the wonderful fact, which many of our moderns seem not rightly to appreciate, is that people did believe in Jesus, not merely because He got Himself killed—which any man may do—but because He rose again. Men believed that once, not because it was incredible, or because only thereby could they preserve the other-worldliness of the Church, but because they had witnessed it.

Let us, however, be quite clear that sheer reaction from this apocalyptic theory does not disprove it, and will not serve

Christianity at this juncture. It will therefore be worth while to examine the matter somewhat closely. For we are challenged to accept this new view of Jesus in a very confident, not to say imperious fashion. Men like Dr. Schweitzer have a very "big magic" to conjure with. They speak in the name of science. And the word "science" has got itself somehow into a privileged position. Call a thing "scientific" and, whether it be a patent medicine, or a new variety of bread, or a phase of scepticism, it will immediately find hosts of folk to accept it. There is nothing nowadays so calculated to attract the gullible and to make even people of shrewd intelligence temporarily credulous, as the claim to be "scientific." This is true also in matters theological. There is nothing that so readily paralyses the Christian's power of criticism as the claim of the critics to be "scientific." And this is the more regrettable, and the more to be guarded against, just because science is of such immense value, to the theologian as well as to every one else. So then let us look more closely at this new apocalypticism. We shall find good reason to conclude that we are not by any means called upon to accept it, but, in the interests of biblical science itself as well as in the interests of theology and religion, to reject its main contentions, even while we may learn much from some of its secondary results.

We have already noticed that a chief result of Schweitzer's summing up of the conclusions of historical research in relation to Jesus, is to show that the Jesus of history is an incredible person from our modern point of view. He eludes our grasp. That is, when you try to eliminate the presuppositions of positive faith, you fail to find a credible historical Jesus at all. Now one, if not the sole, reason for this is, that Schweitzer, like the great majority of those who lead the critical movement in Germany, if not in England, makes

certain assumptions on purely philosophic grounds (that is to say, assumptions based ultimately on an element of *faith* !) which play a decisive part in all his historical investigations, while at the same time pretending to superiority on the ground that he has excluded all such assumptions. It seems certain that no historian can do his work without these assumptions. The mischief comes in when he is not aware of them and, perhaps, blatantly decries them in others while he hides them in himself.

The first of these assumptions in the case of Schweitzer is that miracles do not happen now and did not happen in relation to Christ. This is not the place for the reiteration of any of the well-worn arguments in apology for the miraculous. All that we need be careful to assert here is, that we accept and reject the miraculous in the last resort upon general philosophic grounds, and not upon historical or even scientific grounds. Neither natural science nor historical science can prove the impossibility of the miraculous. And, on the other hand, if a man put aside all preconceptions and simply estimated historical evidence, he would be bound to accept certain miracles at any rate—such as the resurrection—as proven. But this Schweitzer and his colleagues ignore. They set about the “Quest of the Historical Jesus” having made up their minds that there was nothing miraculous about Him. No wonder that, when they find Him, they fail to identify Him with the Christ of faith, but shake their heads and say, “He is an enigma.”

The second assumption is this : That a moral and religious movement can spring from historic events or persons, not only incommensurate with it, but actually in contradiction of it. This second assumption is perhaps not so clearly realised as is the anti-miracle dogma, but it is just as actual. A few words of explanation are necessary here. Nothing can explain away the Catholic faith. It came into existence,

and it came into existence very early. However largely the apocalyptic elements still bulked, in the apostolic age we already have the great doctrines of the Fatherhood of God, the atonement and the resurrection, and the wonderful edifice of the ethic of love. Now Schweitzer's doctrine of Christ would not have been adequate to all this. A mere dead fanatic could not have built this faith. Something else must have built it. It were unthinkable that the greatest series of moral and religious ideas and forces humanity has known (and, for my part, can know !) can have come out of the air, so to speak. That were a bigger miracle than any in the New Testament. What is it that, according to that very doctrine of *uniformity of causes* to which the scientific historian constantly appeals, is adequate to the production of a great spiritual and moral movement ? It is experience, generally, indeed, terrible experience. It is such trenchant, cogent, and explosive events as shall be adequate to check, and destroy, or divert existing spiritual and moral movements, and also adequate to the creation of a new religion. Some vital and tragic historical phenomenon, generally a person, commensurate with any spiritual movement is necessary to the creation of that movement. But the Jesus of the apocalypticists is not commensurate with the apostolic faith. With what is He commensurate ? He is commensurate with a Messianic expectation which would go on until disappointed and then die and never come to life again. To meet this, it is suggested that this Messianic expectation carried the Church over the period during which its real faith, the Catholic faith, was being formed, and that the positive contribution which Jesus made by means of this ultimately futile apocalyptic hope, was the bridge by which the Church crossed over to faith in the risen Christ. But if we are to take this argument seriously, we must conclude that Christianity was not the creation of Christ, but of some

other. Who was this other? Was it Paul, or Peter, or John the presbyter? It matters little, for the historian that can put forward any or all of these as creators of Christianity will have a difficult task in explaining the psychology of these men and their contemporaries. They were not only strangely misled, but they effected a colossal deception upon their fellows and upon posterity. And this in a perfectly incredible way. For although they were the greatest moralists, religious geniuses and theologians the world has ever known, they were quite ignorant of any virtue in themselves, imagining in their simplicity that they had received their doctrine from one far above themselves, Jesus. Strange unanimity in mistaken modesty! Baconians assure us that the works of Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Burton, Massinger, and many others, were really written by Bacon. It is hard to believe that one genius should be so modest. But it would be still more marvellous did all these writers unite in ascribing their own works to Bacon. Yet in some such way Schweitzer would have us believe the makers of Christianity called Jesus the author and perfecter of their faith.

The new apocalypticism then invites us to see Christianity as rising from a source utterly incommensurate with itself. It would have us expect to "gather figs of thistles." But that is not all. It actually invites us to see the origin of Christianity in a set of facts that would actually be destructive of Christian faith. According to the apocalypticists, what they regard as the real history of Jesus (reconstructed by "scientific" methods) would have been, if known to the disciples of Jesus, quite inimical to the faith they proclaimed. It is not necessary for me to labour this point, or even to establish it. For Schweitzer himself presents it to us with the utmost candour when he says that when once historical criticism has done its work we must set about

building a new religion. What does this mean? If historical criticism has done its work right, it has given us the actual facts as they operated in the lives (not only the minds) of the disciples; it has given us at second hand just those facts which the early Church experienced at first hand, and which made that early Church, with all its range of doctrine. But if those facts make it impossible for us (as Schweitzer asserts) to accept apostolic Christianity, how could they have nourished that marvellous apostolic faith itself, from which ours is derived? Human nature has not utterly changed in these nineteen hundred years. Psychology may be a new science, but the mind of man is not a modern invention any more than is his body. If prussic acid kills him who drinks it to-day, we may be quite sure it would not have been a good substitute for mother's milk in Nero's time; and if it be true that a knowledge of the real facts about Jesus upsets a high Christology to-day, it is quite certain that those real facts themselves could not have fashioned the Christologies of Paul and John. Indeed, in this matter the apocalypticists have surely proved too much—they have shown that whatever else Jesus may have been, the one thing He can *not* have been was the mere apocalyptic figure they depict.

We may conclude then that the method of the apocalypticists is vitiated, first by their unbelief in the miraculous—and for most of us it seems clear that the startling, joy-giving, peace-creating, heaven-expounding doctrines of the Fatherhood of God, the forgiveness of sins, and the life everlasting could never possibly have been made known to men but by miracle, for they have no obvious place in the natural order which would make them discoverable and believable by mere induction or even speculation—and, secondly, by their very vague and doubtful historical psychology, involving, as it does, a readiness to see, in the

most naïve fashion, things as causing Christianity which are really inimical to it.

We may now turn from the assumptions of the apocalypticists and consider the question of exegesis. Here we have the great advantage of the work of Professor von Dobschütz, who furnishes us with an admirable caution against the alacrity with which many scholars have acquiesced in much if not all of Schweitzer's findings. I do not propose to follow him, however, in his detailed examination of Schweitzer's exegesis. All that I propose to do is point out that the detailed and subtle criticism of the New Testament upon the cumulative effect of which Schweitzer and his friends rely, is not convincing because it seems to leave out of account some very big and important things. We will take one. It is said that ultimately the New Testament represents Jesus as standing for the one claim that He was to come again in fulfilment of apocalyptic prophecies concerning the Son of Man. Now let us grant that this is very prominent, this linking of Jesus with the apocalyptic Son of Man. But obviously it is not the only thing of its sort in the New Testament. Jesus is linked up with other great mythical ideas alongside of this one. The writer of the Fourth Gospel, whom many modern critics are beginning to place much nearer the Synoptists than used to be done, links Jesus with the Logos. The writer of "Hebrews" classes Him along with, but transcending, Moses, Joshua and Aaron, and sets Him forth as the Mediator of the promised new covenant. Paul in some of his epistles expounds Jesus as the sharer of God's power in the creation of the world. In others he takes the notion of angel hierarchies from the Jews or of the æons and demiurges of the mysteries and asserts that Jesus sums up in Himself all that these depict. Now looking at these and similar facts—such as Paul's citation of the inscription on the altar, and his quotations

on Mars Hill and his obvious drawing upon Stoic doctrine—we come to this conclusion : that the apostolic evangel had one message but a variety of languages. At Jerusalem this was so—every dweller heard the apostles' preaching in his own familiar tongue—and it was so everywhere. The apostles were all things to all men : to the Hebrews they talked in Hebrew ideas, while to the Gentiles they discoursed in Gentile terms. The religious-historical school is eager enough to assert this when they wish to trace a Christian doctrine to a heathen source. Well, the important fact is, that the apostolic preachers were careless what figures, mythical, historical or literary, they applied to Jesus, provided one principle was observed : Jesus must always be presented by means of the highest category known to the people they addressed. To the Greek philosopher, Jesus was the Logos, the divine reason operative to illumine and purify the world. To the Orphic worshipper, he was the mystery of mysteries who, once discovered, explained everything. To the angel worshipper, he was the highest of the æons—that emanation from God who summed up in Himself all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. To the Jew chiefly concerned in Templeism, He was the absolute High Priest after the order of Melchisedek. And to the Jew fed on apocalyptic literature, and that means to the great majority of the Jewish populace, He was the Messianic mystery, the Son of Man coming on the clouds. A variety of ideas, we see, but all agreeing in this—the highest categories of thought alone must be applied to Jesus. He was commended to each race or civilisation under the figure of the highest and most godlike thing that race or civilisation could conceive.

The method of Jesus Himself was in harmony with this. He was continually driven to parabolic speech, both on account of the profundity of His message, and the simplicity

of His hearers. The most remote and mysterious element in His message, as well as the most momentous, was His own self-consciousness, and His most effective means of expressing this, was the Messianic idea. But this idea, though expressing His self-consciousness, did not exhaust it. Further, discourses were as easily forgotten as parables and metaphors were remembered. A mythological term like "Son-of Man" at once established contact with the naïve minds He addressed—minds incapable of grasping the abstruse or reasoned. We may conclude then that our evangelists have not put all that Jesus said to them about Himself into their writings, but chiefly what He expressed figuratively. And more than that : if Jesus could not express all He knew, the evangelists could not express all they received. So we have not the fulness of their impressions in their records, but only as much as they could put into words. And in view of all this, we are not surprised that the apocalyptic figure should loom large in the Gospels : but at the same time we have no right to assume that that figure exhausted either the Master's teaching or His disciples' understanding.

Of course, we are at once under a disadvantage if the Fourth Gospel is ruled out. But why should we rule it out ? On the contrary, this document seems to contain at least a certain body of genuine reminiscence of the Lord, and that body of reminiscence emphasises our Lord's difficulty in making Himself understood, while it also testifies to the fact that the disciples knew Him to be far more than they could clearly utter. And are we not, in view of all the facts, justified in saying that what really told upon the disciples, and told till death, forming that from which their essential evangel came, was not the Messianic figure, more or less clear cut, but the rich MORE, the wonderful if mysterious depth of the personality of Jesus, which was a religious experience of God steadily unfolding itself until it bloomed

in the light of the resurrection ? It was this that had come out of contact with the personality of Jesus, and not the mere notion of the Son of Man coming in the clouds ; and it was this that constituted their essential equipment when they began their propaganda, and that enabled them to go forward with unchecked determination even after the expectation of the Parousia had died away. Schweitzer says that " the historical knowledge of the personality and life of Jesus will not be a help, but perhaps even an offence to religion," and quotes Paul's famous saying about from henceforth not knowing Christ after the flesh. Well, we may grant that if we must accept Schweitzer's view of Jesus, it is an offence to religion, but that must only add to our conviction that his view is false, for the life of Jesus was not an offence to the early Church, but its inspiration and power.

But how about that other-worldliness which is Schweitzer's gospel ? If we reject the apocalyptic account of Christ and the Gospels, must we also reject that ? Frankly, if our experience of human nature has any validity, no doctrine of other-worldliness can be sustained unless we can see in Christ a Saviour and not a dupe. What chance has a denial of this world to serve us if it have with it no revelation of any other world ? What chance has a gospel of the Second Coming of combatting modern materialism if it be a Second Coming that never came and never will come ? What right have we even to call people to self-denial for its own sake, in the name of a dead visionary who did *not* teach righteousness and had nothing but scorn for social regeneration ? How can we commend a faith, if at the same time we have to say that its originator was tortured to death for an empty and superstitious dream ? In short, what has a mere doctrine of other-worldliness to give to hungry and weary souls ? It can only fall back upon a Buddhistic doctrine of Nirvana, but with this handicap, that it is promulgated by one who

thought Himself vastly more than Buddha claimed to be.

We may surely agree with Father Tyrrell, Dr. Burkitt, and Professor Moulton that it is all to the good that the essential other-worldliness of Christianity should be revived. But other-worldliness is nothing and less than nothing in itself. It is only valuable if we have another world to offer because we love and worship the Father with whom we had been reconciled through the death of Christ.

Now, is there no room for this other-worldliness unless we adopt the apocalyptic theory? Other-worldliness is surely that spirit which enables us to sit loose to all worldly goods because we so delight in heavenly goods; that conviction which makes this world a matter of little importance because the heavenly world has such great importance: the expectation that the world will sooner or later—it matters nothing how much sooner or later—come to an utter and irremediable end, but at the same time the kingdom of Christ endures for ever. Well, this spirit of other-worldliness was strong in the apostles, ultimately not by virtue of their belief in the Messianic office of Jesus, but by virtue of their complete homage and subordination to His person—a homage and subordination which we cannot exercise towards a dead Galilean dupe, but which we may and (please God) we do feel towards our Risen Lord who is the historic Jesus. Schweitzer is right when he says that the ethic of Jesus was not the centre of gravity, or the essence of His ministry. But he is wrong when he explains that essence by the apocalyptic expectation. It is the Person of Jesus that was mighty then and will be mighty to-day to make us live for the world beyond. “The Lord’s disciples,” says Professor Gwatkin, “went not forth as preachers of morality, but as witnesses to His life and of the historic resurrection which proved His mightiest claims.”

Yes, it is well we should remember that the Lord cometh, but we can never believe this unless it be because we know the Lord hath come.

NEWTON H. MARSHALL.

HISTORY AND THE GOSPEL.

THE modern mind, as represented by certain well-known types, is obviously baffled by the claim of the Christian faith to rest on and revolve round events in time. It asks in tones of sincere mystification how eternal truth—the love of God or human victory over moral evil—is anywise dependent for its hold upon our intelligence on actual incidents in the past. Is there not even a grossness in the idea? If the Gospel is in itself true, no fusion or coalescence of it with special portions of the time-series can make its truth any less or more. Faith is the soul's adhesion to the living God; why then perplex the simplicity and candour of its attitude by insisting that the attitude in question is one which necessarily implies a specifically intellectual posture towards events of history? Why not rather concede that the protest against this is at bottom a religious one, as demanding only that honest men should be encouraged to remain in fellowship with the Church while yet as critics of tradition they suspend judgment on the historicity of alleged occurrences in the first century? Such is the argument in brief. It is remarkable, by the way, that an intensified disinclination to implicate religion with history should have become thus specially manifest in an age which gives to historical research, and to examination of the principles of evidence, a quite unprecedented proportion of time and energy. The more men know of the past, and its human ways, the less, apparently, they will allow it to mean for the present. But while in part this hesitation may be

owing to a quickened sense of the obstacles in the path of the historian who aims at certainty, and has perforce to be satisfied with probability, in ultimate origin and title it is not historical at all, but philosophic. Philosophy has always tended to regard historic fact as in the last resort negligible. Truth as such is timeless ; from the final point of view the contingencies of the world-process leave it wholly unaffected.

As a general idea, this influential modern prejudice can be traced back to ancient speculation. The Greek view of things had no place for what we call history or progress. It aimed at dealing solely with the permanent and unchanged essence of the world, and it accepted mathematics as the perfect form of knowledge and as exclusively competent to guide the mind to cognition of τὸ ὄν—that which really is. We must remember that Greek thought set out from the study, not of man,—who is made for history, and is “a creature of days and years and also of generations,”—but of physical nature. Hence the succession of human events was sternly reduced in significance to the second or third rank ; it was something proper only to the realm of γένεσις, the sphere of change and incalculable variety, which can never satisfy the properly metaphysical interest. No one raised the problem of what progress means, or human history as a whole. No one inquired whether conceivably it has been “assigned to man to have history for the manner in which he should manifest himself,” and whether accordingly in our search for the meaning of the world we are bound not to stop short with principles, truths, laws because what we seek is given only in facts, events, historical transactions. This, let it be said again, did not present itself as a problem demanding to be faced ; much less would a Greek thinker have dreamt that by this path we arrive (so far as may be) at the secret of the universe.

Yet the Greek mind could not fail utterly to devise its own equivalent for the modern conception of history as a teleological process on the great scale. And this equivalent it found in the idea of a continuous cycle of existence, with alternating periods of evolution and dissolution. All human events, it was held, are repeated time after time, endlessly. Thus for Plato the wheel of generation is eternal, as it had been also apparently for the Pythagoreans; and in Aristotle we meet with the strongly marked principle that the process of the world of generation is a series of transitions without beginning or end. In the same way the Stoics held that the world course is reversible, the original state being perpetually restored. It is a theory, Hatch says, which "conceived of the universe as analogous to a seed which expands to flower and fruit and withers away, but leaves behind it a similar seed which has a similar life and a similar succession; so did one universal order spring from its beginning and pass through its appointed period to the end which was like the beginning in that after it all things began anew."¹ Conceptions of this kind are familiar in Neo-Platonism; they were revived by Herbert Spencer in the nineteenth century.

A suggestive writer has pointed out that the persistence of this theory means that it is dealing with what appears a real difficulty to thought. It is hard to grasp "the reality of the process and admit a real increase and growth in the content or significance of the world. The force of facts compels to the admission that the world really progresses, really contains more than it did of the quality in terms of which the process is formulated, that its Becoming involves a progressive increase in Being. But in spite of the avowal of dynamical principles, the statical ten-

¹ *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 205.

dency to regard the amount of Reality as stationary irresistibly reasserts itself. The actual fact of growth cannot be denied, but its significance may be disputed. And so it is asserted to be merely *apparent*; it is really only the manifestations of the great *Cycle*, which reels off the appointed series of events in precisely the same order for ever and ever. It is therefore a mere illusion to fancy that the total content of the universe changes.”¹ If this is true of ancient philosophy, absorbed in the phenomena of change in nature, it is true in a scarcely less degree of philosophy in modern times, whose first interest is the validity of knowledge, not the development of real existence. For much contemporary thought it is axiomatic that nothing real ever *moves*.

There was bound to be a change here, even in philosophy, when once ethical considerations had got the upper hand, for ethics apart from the idea of progress is unmeaning; yet too frequently it is forgotten that the badly needed corrective was already supplied even while the great Greek thinkers were at work. It was supplied in the message of the Hebrew prophets. To them the world owes the idea of a real history of things, a progress in time. No one, I suppose, would gravely contend that the Hebrews possessed the peculiar charism of the metaphysician. Saints with them are not speculative men. In view of death, for example, they do not argue that the soul is immortal from its nature; they feel that they are one with God, and that death cannot ever touch those who are folded on the bosom of the Eternal. In spite of their temperament, however, they have contributed certain well-marked elements of truth which must find a place in any sound philosophy. At each point they are seen to be foes of abstraction, bent unwaveringly on that mental attitude

¹ *Riddles of the Sphinx*, p. 209.

of concrete synthesis which insists on the undivided unity of Life. In proof we have only to recall their profound sense of the vital conjunction and co-operation of nature and spirit, the oneness of man's experience, the connexion of sin and death ; which last is always held to have moral meaning. And it is the same intensely and incorruptibly concrete view which is implicit in the prophetic doctrine that human progress is real because its core and spring are ethical. History is a moral operation. The kingdom of God is coming on the earth. A redemptive purpose is being executed on the grand scale and will throw its results far on into coming ages. The fortunes of Israel are, in the last resort, the fortunes of mankind. If we like we may put this principle into language far enough away from the Old Testament, although natural to moderns, by saying that the conception of reality it implies is not merely statical, but dynamic. Reality, in other words, is not *per se* complete, finished, moveless ; it is patient of increase and development and marches forward to a goal. It is a time-process, or at all events such a process is embraced within it. It is a scene of change, in which new facts emerge ; yet not as the Greeks held of change which is finally unreal and non-significant. Rather its plastic movement is laden with ultimate and eternal meaning.

Modern thought, as I have said, tends to interpret religion more from the Greek than the Hebrew point of view. It scarcely knows what to do with a historical religion. Indeed what has been called by far the strongest blow yet struck at Christianity is the famous word of Lessing : "Contingent historical truths can never become proof of necessary truths of reason." Fact is one thing, ideas are another, and between the two there is no inner or essential bond. Curiously enough, it was Lessing himself who did more

than all his contemporaries to lift men above the strange and arid prejudice that history is only a wirr-warr of beings, happenings, relations, and to exhibit it as the workshop of life both for nations and persons. The education of mankind, regarding which he spoke many deep words, is in fact an education by way of historical media, moving upward from limited and meagre origins, yet attaining in due time to a heritage defined and enriched through the bygone experiences of man. But this is Lessing at his highest. Elsewhere he lapses as his neighbours do into the abstract rationalism for which religion is little more than a popular metaphysic ; the kindergarten method by which the average man rises to the apprehension of high verities more fitly conceived by loftier minds in the timeless modes of speculative argument. And this is, of course, the authentic philosophical tradition. Spinoza, who strives like Plato to think as mathematically as he can, pronounces nothing else to be essential for salvation but only knowledge of the Eternal Son of God, i.e. of Divine wisdom ; so that if unquestionably it is advantageous to be aware of the historic Christ, yet is it in no way necessary, since the Divine life in man of which He is the symbol has come to abundant manifestation elsewhere. Kant follows in this line, contending that faith in the ideal Christ, in whom God-pleasing manhood has been exemplified, is the true faith which saves the soul and makes it blessed inwardly ; and in perfect consistency with this, notwithstanding a willing admission that the ideal took shape and form in the historic Jesus, he does not hesitate to assert that the question whether Jesus' fulfilment of the ideal was complete and sinless is comparatively unimportant. Fichte crowns the series by the declaration that it is contrary to the Christian religion to demand faith in the historic Christ. If a man is in fact united to God, his duty is not to be perpetually going

back upon the idea of *the way* to such union, but to live in the thing.

This conception of Christianity without Jesus can be traced right down the theological movement of the nineteenth century ; for it is never far from the surface when Hegelian or Neo-Hegelian writing touches on religion. We must dissociate the idea of redemption, it is said, from the person of an alleged Redeemer. It is not the way of the Idea to pour its fulness in a single Life. Rather it demands a multiplicity of co-ordinate and mutually supplementary individual instances for ever rising up anew only to pass away in an infinite and uniform succession. This was altered by more Christian thinkers, such as Biedermann, into the less atheistic principle that ideas of the Fatherhood of God and the forgiveness of sins are indeed traceable to the mediation of Jesus, but only as it were by accident. Once they have been planted here, that is, they stand erect by their own weight. Of late, however, the tendency has shown itself to go back to yet more intransigent forms of expression. On the one hand, certain kinds of Modernism, pleading for the independence of faith and history, argue that the true refuge from the dangers of Gospel criticism is the merging of self in the universal Church as the brotherhood of aspiring men. On the other hand we have the controversy now afoot in Germany as to the existence of the historic Jesus. Drews' book on the Christ-myths, round which a small literature has gathered rapidly, is no doubt more interesting as a symptom than as a contribution. In other words, whatever its extravagance of statement, it is at least proof that multitudes of people are dissatisfied with the misty outlines and shifting content of the picture of Jesus so far drawn by modern liberal scholarship ; and clear-sighted men like Johannes Weiss concede handsomely that for this

dissatisfaction there is substantial ground. But the point for us to note is Drews' remedy for present ills. Throw away the "chopped straw" of radicalism, he tells us, and cut loose from history altogether. That persistent clinging to past fact has been the ruin of Christianity from the first. In place of the historic Jesus take the ideal Christ; seize and hold the thought that God and man are indistinguishably one—the life of the world God's life, the prolonged sorrow of humanity but the self-redeeming passion of the Absolute—and at once the entanglements and uncertainties of the Church drop from her. The dead hand of the past is lifted off. Religion has no more concern with incidents of a bygone time. Such is the latest phase of the long-drawn controversy, and as before its origin and sanctions are philosophic, not religious. They are due to von Hartmann this time, not Hegel.

What answer can we give to this? What defence can be made of the Gospel as inwoven with history by unbreakable strands of living fibre? None perhaps that will prevail in the court of pure theory. Truth as it is in Jesus is morally conditioned and must needs be morally appreciated; and all labour is lost which affects to argue as though it were not so. But if the deepest things in spiritual experience be admitted as not valid merely, but constitutive and all-determining, the case for Jesus is strong indeed.

To begin, if it be said the Gospel as involved in history must consent to be as relative as other facts of the time-series—that it has to choose, in short, between historicity and finality—the answer is that this is pure assumption, and an assumption that will have to be changed if it conflicts with real phenomena. It may well be bad metaphysics; it is so, if, as not a few philosophers have begun to think, life is an eternal creation of novelties, a scene not of self-identical persistent objects with unvarying

mutual relations but of the incessant uprising of the new and unforeseen. For in that case the fatal presupposition of mechanism as an exhaustive conception of the real vanishes, and the only question remaining is whether the novelty created at a specific point in history was an absolute and all-sufficient Redeemer. Furthermore, it is to be remembered that the religious life of man has always moved upward, not by the influence of abstract conceptions, however rich or versatile, but by the power of great personalities. Each vast movement starts with a man. It rises into strength because an idea and a mind have become fused in one—the thought embodied in a soul, the soul dedicated to the thought and acting only in its service. This is unquestionably how concrete history has proceeded from phase to phase; it has moved by incessant new beginnings; and if the axioms of a mechanical psychology break down helplessly before a Paul, a Luther, or a Wesley, acknowledging their inability to deal with the original and inscrutable factors these names represent, it is hard to see how they can expect to cope with the incomparable life of Jesus. And to crown all, it has been found that *a priori* notions of relativity are extinguished in Jesus' presence. They are broken by redemption as an experience as of old Samson broke the restraining withes. The men who followed Christ in Palestine and learnt to call Him their Lord, those who in every time have felt the sweep of His power and the renewing impetus of His Spirit—all these are somehow aware that in Jesus we touch the supreme moral reality of the universe. They are aware of this; and unavoidably they have proceeded to make unique assertions regarding this unique Person. And whatever be the defects of these assertions in language or conception they at least proclaim the infinitude of Jesus, and the intrinsically hopeless character of all efforts to compute His place who is

the star to every wandering bark
Whose worth's unknown, although his height be taken.

Drews' reiteration of the old difficulty that nothing past can be vital to a religion which demands a present object, is at first sight more impressive. Yet only at first sight. On these terms life may be spiritually enriched by Jesus Christ as by Socrates, but in no other sense. Ideas or principles may be taken from the Gospel provided we renounce facts. If Jesus is historical, He can only be a dead or dying influence of the past. How often this attempt has been made to put Jesus back firmly into His own age ; to hold Him there (so to speak) a prisoner chained by time's limitations, a figure dimmer always and more distant with the lapse of generations ! Yet one touch of experience breaks the spell. It is found that Jesus is only past while we refuse to think of Him. Let the question be taken up in moral earnest and at once He steps forward from the page of history, a tremendous and exacting reality. We cannot read His greatest words, be they of command or promise, without feeling that He is saying these things to us now *unter vier Augen* ; that we are as much face to face with decision for or against Him as Zaccheus or Pilate. He gets home upon our conscience in a manner so final and inevitable—even when we do not wish to have anything to do with Him—that we see and know Him as present to the mind. Like any other reality He can be kept out of consciousness by the withdrawal of attention. But once He has got in, and, having got in, has shown us all things that ever we did, He moves out of the past into the field of immediate knowledge and takes the central place in the soul now and here. It is plain that at this point a living conscience about sin is crucial. Jesus must always remain a historical externality to the man who will not admit Him to the moral sense.

It is in this direction also that we find the solution of a further problem. Granted that there was once a Jesus Christ, it may be said, can anything be ascertained regarding Him? Has not Gospel criticism evacuated our knowledge of all certainty? And without certainty, what is religious faith? Surely the record of Jesus' career has been proved to be shot through with essentially unverifiable elements. Not even the details of Mark are beyond question. And short of verbal inspiration, the possibility of an influx of later legend cannot be denied. Where shall we draw the line? I believe that in popular usage no charge against the New Testament is more common or more effective than this charge that you cannot draw a distinct line between the certain and the uncertain, and that everything, accordingly, is pretty much on one level of untrustworthiness. As is the case so often, too, the impressiveness of the charge lies in the fact that it represents a significant half-truth. Nothing in the past can be so certain for the historian, *purely as a historian*, as that it will bear the weight of personal religion. History can no more give us a Saviour Christ than science can give us the living God. Even if Christ was the world's Redeemer, and knowable as such, it is not anyhow by way of historical research that He could be thus known. There are matters, in short, which history by itself is incompetent to treat of; for, as Professor James puts it, "a rule of thinking which would absolutely prevent me from acknowledging certain kinds of truth, if those kinds of truth were really there, would be an irrational rule."

That, however, is but a preliminary point. The really important thing is that no man is a mere historian, even if he tries to be. For no man is without a conscience—the sense of unconditional and infallible obligation; hence none can be guaranteed against the risk of finding himself

in the presence of One who deals with us in ways which we know to be God's ways. It may happen to any man, at any time, given the witness of a living Church, to be inescapably confronted with a Person who convicts him of moral ruin yet offers him the saving love of God. And if this should happen, he will then know, with a certainty which no history can give or take away, that in this Jesus he has touched and met with God. Here then is the answer to Lessing's objection about contingent truths of history. It is not merely that history is crammed with purpose, and nothing anywhere in it quite contingent; it is yet more emphatically that to call the fact of Christ contingent has no meaning. Contingent in this sense is peripheral, subordinate, adventitious; Jesus is central, vital, paramount. So far from being a chance detail of the world, He is the last and highest fact of which moral reason takes cognisance.

But to have found Jesus in history, and to have become assured that in Him we encounter God Himself, are experiences which cannot fail to modify very profoundly our view of history as such. If the supreme Reality has been manifested in a Person who once lived, and—conscience being witness—still lives, it is clear that what happens within "the bounds of time and place" must function substantively in the plan of being. History, in other words, is not, as philosophy has so often contended, like the screen of a cinematograph, on which we see the moving symbols of independently real things, the symbols themselves being only shadows after all, but no true or abiding contribution to existent fact. On the contrary, it is a domain in which God is bringing reality to pass. Time and the contents of time have no merely negative relation to eternal truth; rather is supremely valid truth being freely actualised by their instrumentality. The elements of history are plastic and susceptible in the hand of God. For Him the course

of the world is no external fate by which He is confronted, and with which He too must somehow come to terms ; its multiplicity and mutation, with the reality of progress and movement these imply, constitute a sphere for creative action that weaves into the cosmic texture the dominating pattern of redemptive love.

History then is such that salvation may come by way of it. In the foregoing pages I have contended that it is bad philosophy to view the realities of history as only so much second-class matter. But religion, I imagine, will go a step further. It will plead that salvation *must* be mediated through history. Humanity can be saved only from within. Even for the Redeemer Himself it was essential that redemption should be accomplished for us, not by a divine fiat, a great commanding word spoken from heaven, but by a life being lived and a death died within the world and as real parts of the time-series. And this was the lot appointed for Jesus. He too learnt obedience by the things that He suffered ; and being made perfect, He became the author of eternal salvation to all who obey Him.

But, apart from such high matters, we can perceive that any redemption which is to be apprehensible by men must be historically conveyed, since it is obviously incidental to human life as such to be constituted by historical relationships. Evil and good alike reach us through the influences of the past ; through persons who, whether by heredity or by example, have co-operated in moulding us ; and for the supreme forces of religion also, if they are to possess the world, it will be natural and necessary to approach and capture the souls of men in ways similarly concrete. Now this actualisation of redemption within the phenomenal order is possible for God. Just because He is transcendent it is possible for Him to appear in time in the form of one finite spirit, while yet not losing Himself.—like von Hart-

mann's unhappy Absolute,—in the fatal and debasing labyrinth of multiplicity. Creation was built on lines such as to admit of the influx of vast redemptive forces one day to be liberated by the divine love. In this basal sense all must recognise the Lutheran axiom *finitum capax infiniti*—the finite can receive and assimilate Infinitude. And since ideas in themselves are impotent, the Infinite One came personally as a Saviour. Abstract humanity may be saved by abstract conceptions, real men and women only by a concrete Life. Love is of God, therefore God must live beside us that His love and its sacrifice may be known to created spirits and may win back their love. So Browning thought of it :

What lacks then of perfection fit for God,
But just the instance which this tale affords
Of love without a limit ? So is strength,
So is intelligence ; let love be so
Unlimited in self-sacrifice
Then is the tale true and God shows complete.

The foregoing argument has a close bearing on the doctrine of Atonement ; a brief note on that subject, therefore, may be added here. If history be fully real, it must figure concretely and decisively in the relations of God and man. Now what is known as the moral theory of Atonement contains elements of profound truth, in that it contemplates Christ as the gift and act of God Himself and lifts the problem clean above all categories of law and barter by its accentuation of God's free grace, who had no need to be induced to love us, but gave His only-begotten Son out of a love as old and uncreated as His being. All this, fortunately, is the common property of all Christian theories.

Yet the religion of the New Testament provides, as it seems to me, a deeper and more solemn undertone. It conveys the truth, dimly yet significantly, that Jesus' life and death represent not a mere disclosure of God's

relation to the sinful, but a change in it. It was indeed a revelation, but a revelation contributing to the reality it revealed. To recall our former illustration, history in this central tract of it is no mere lantern-screen on which are thrown pictures of independently real fact; rather it is the workshop and laboratory in which fact itself comes to be. In virtue of something which has happened, something which would not have happened apart from Jesus, sinners now have God on their side in a new way. His judgment on sin has been manifested once and for ever; but it has been manifested in the actualities of the phenomenal series, and, by its very occurrence, has produced a new situation between the Father and His wandering children.

So that after all we are led back to the fundamental problem: Is the relation of God to man a static relation, as immutable and intrinsic as the ratio holding between two given numbers, or is it interpretable in genuinely personal categories; susceptible, therefore, of change, growth, enrichment, consummation? Has the Cross any causal bearing—not on the originative and fontal love of God, but—on His present gracious attitude to the guilty? Or shall we apply also at this point the monistic principle that nothing real ever moves, that all happenings are *ipso facto* appearance, not reality? To me it seems that if history is the fruitful sphere and nidus of being; if it is this, and not merely an earthly representation and picturing of eternal truths—of validities, that is, which hold good irrespectively of all that may *become* in time and space—then we are obliged to think of salvation as deriving reality, acquiring substantial and effective existence, from concrete events of time. Christ, that is, does more than unveil a relation already posited by the very definition of Divinity and Humanity; He once for all establishes a new relation, at a great cost. True, this argument is

worthless if God is not in fact angry at sin ; if, because He is love unspeakable, He cannot be wrath as well. But we can only say so if we disregard the voice of the instructed Christian conscience, which tells us plainly that we question God's anger at sin only because we are so little angry at it ourselves. And if the wrath of God be a dread reality, not as a quasi-human passion, but as the reaction of pure holiness against moral evil, then it is possible to hold that right had to be done by that morality which is, as Butler puts it, "the nature of things," and that by His life and death Jesus Christ achieved this great task. There is a homage due to the righteous will of God, which we cannot render of ourselves, but which in the acts and endurances of an historic life He rendered for us. There was a divinely produced increase in the content and significance of the world. And all this is possible, ultimately, because God is the God of history, who in Jesus makes a new start in His connexion with the sinful, thus altering and rectifying, in ethical and spontaneous ways, the relationship which had previously obtained.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

THE MARKAN NARRATIVE IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

THE literature of the times reveals a marked increase of attention to the many questions raised by a study of the Synoptic Gospels. This is true whether we consider the history these Gospels contain, or the way they came into being. In the latter connexion we have recently had such works as Harnack's *Sayings of Jesus*, Stanton's *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, and now the collection of admirable Essays on the same subject from a School of Oxford scholars, under the general editorship of Dr. Sanday. These works alone, together with the invaluable *Horæ Synopticæ* of Sir

J. C. Hawkins, and the *Synopticon* of Mr. W. G. Rushbrooke, suffice to bring the whole question before the student of this most important subject. Its importance is seen in the fact that it is in proportion as we discover the method of those who compiled for us these Gospels that the Person of our Lord, the object of our faith, will appear in clearer light.

For some time it has been held that the problem presented by the history of these writings was insoluble, but the patience and reverence of such writers as have been mentioned is inexhaustible, and now it would seem as though some day we may arrive at a fairly general consensus of opinion. At any rate, there is a distinct movement in the direction of solution in dealing with this problem. The generally accepted abandonment of the doctrine of an oral basis for the three Gospels marks a considerable step in advance. So long as this was held to be a probable, or even a possible, explanation it was difficult to follow out the far more likely clue afforded in what is known as "The Two-Document Theory." Dr. Sanday assumes a general acceptance of this as a working hypothesis.

We may, therefore, concentrate attention upon the Markan element common to the three Synoptists as a document, and upon the collection of discourses or "sayings" commonly designated "Q." A question of extraordinary interest will remain in the special source, or sources, used by Luke, but this may be allowed to wait. For if a general agreement as to the two former questions may be arrived at, the greater part of our difficulty will have been removed, and we shall be in a better position to consider the matter peculiar to the Third Gospel.

Now in considering the Markan narrative which appears in all three Gospels most scholars accept the priority of the Second Gospel. That is to say, they hold that Mark's Gospel, *as we have it*, was used by the authors of both the

first and the third Gospels. It is to be observed, however, that they do not take up this position without some amount of qualification. Thus Dr. Sanday speaks of this source as being "practically identical" with the canonical Mark, while Sir John Hawkins describes it as "corresponding on the whole" with Mark. It is easy to see that this hesitation or qualification is due to the fact that while the priority of Mark accounts for the points of correspondence between the three, it is contradicted by the fact that the first and the third Gospels differ, sometimes considerably, just in that narrative portion of their writings in which they are supposed to follow Mark. If this Markan narrative is based upon a source not quite the same as canonical Mark, the first step towards a settlement of opinion will be a discussion of those points in which that source differs from the Second Gospel.

We find that such differences are threefold :—

1. Matter contained in Mark is omitted by both Matthew and Luke.
2. Matter contained in Mark is omitted by one or other of Matthew and Luke.
3. Narrative matter not in Mark appears in both Matthew and Luke.

To take only outstanding examples of the first of these.

We find that Mark describes the healing of the blind at Bethsaida (viii. 22–26). He also gives the Parable of the Seed growing secretly (iv. 26–29), and the account of the young man with the linen cloth (xiv. 51–52). None of these appears in the two Gospels which are supposed to be based upon the narrative containing them. Sir John Hawkins includes the story of the healing in a list of passages which seem to limit the power of Jesus, the suggestion being that it was omitted by the other evangelists for this reason. Yet it may be questioned whether there is any real limitation

here, even though a material means was employed in bringing about the cure. There is more limitation in the statement that in a certain place our Lord could do no mighty works because of unbelief (vi. 5), and this appears in the First Gospel. There is no explanation offered for the omission of the other two sections. If the parable is to be explained as indicating Mark's use of Q, the more difficult question is at once raised—how then did both Matthew and Luke omit this important parable when they used Q? For it is admitted that the two last used Q with far greater exactness than did Mark, if indeed he used it at all. The story of the young man with a linen garment is dismissed as a “gratuitous story” which the two later evangelists would omit as irrelevant.

Now that either St. Matthew or St. Luke should, for what we may call editorial reasons, omit one or other of these would not be strange; but that writing separately as they did they should fix upon precisely these sections for omission is difficult to believe. This difficulty is immensely increased when they are seen to agree in omitting all those “vivid touches” which in the Second Gospel do so much to bring the personality of our Lord before us. That they should be omitted because they were thought to lower the dignity of our Lord can scarcely be maintained when it is observed that His shrinking from the Cup in the hour of His Passion is given by all three, and the Apostles certainly appear in a compromising light on that occasion.

The two editors may have used their judgment in altering words and expressions, but it is to be observed that expressions which may have seemed harsh or outlandish gain in vividness where they seem to lose in being strange. This is specially true of such expressions as *σχιζόμενος* (i. 10), and *πρασῖαι πρασίαι* (vi. 40), and that both Luke and Matthew should invariably fix upon such words for omission

does not seem to us likely, especially when we see that they do not carry the principle of emendation through. For example: *πρωτοκαθεδρίας* only appears in ecclesiastical writers, but it is found in all three of our evangelists (Mark xii. 39=Matt. xxiii. 6=Luke xi. 43). *ἐκολόβωσε* is a very rare word, but it appears in Mark xiii. 20=Matt. xxiv. 22. *τέρατα* is not found in the Synoptic Gospels except at the place where it is evidently taken from the Markan narrative (Mark xiii. 22=Matt. 24, 25). So with *ἀγρυπνεῖτε*: Luke accepts the word from his Markan source (xiii. 33=Luke xxi. 36), but it appears nowhere else in the three Gospels.

Under the second head of differences we have matter contained in the canonical Mark, but omitted by one or other of the two later Evangelists. It will be sufficient under this heading to consider the much-discussed Lukan omission (Mark vi. 45-viii. 26). The passage contains much that would make it peculiarly appropriate to Luke, with his appreciation of the Gentile mission of St. Paul, and with his marked sympathy with women. The passage contains, in addition to the story of the Syrophenician Woman, much teaching on ceremonial defilement, which would commend it to a follower of Paul. Yet Luke omits it. Sir John Hawkins considers that this was due partly to the desire of the Evangelist to curtail a manuscript already too long, and partly because the use of the term "dog" would be offensive to Gentile readers. Dr. Sanday agrees with this conclusion.

Yet with all due deference to such authority, we would urge that the passage after all contained the most striking vindication of the Gentile claim to a share of the children's feast. The point of the whole story was that *in spite of the contempt* felt by the Pharisees and the Jews generally, a contempt well known already to all Gentiles, and, therefore, the less likely to offend them when restated in the story, Christ agreed with the woman that the blessings of the covenant

were for the Gentiles also. If there was no alternative explanation available for the fact of the non-appearance of this passage we might accept that it was due to the necessity to shorten the narrative, though even then it would be strange that Luke should choose this passage so peculiarly "Pauline" for omission.

In the third class of differences we must again confine our attention to a single instance. Matthew and Luke agree in giving an account of the healing of the son (servant) of a centurion (Matt. viii. 5-10=Luke vii. 1-9).

The non-appearance of this section in the Second Gospel becomes a difficulty in the way of those who hold that canonical Mark was before the first and the third Evangelists. How on this supposition did the story come before them? The answer generally given is that it was taken from Q. But this answer raises the further difficulty that in that case Q contained narrative as well as Logia. It must thus have been to all intents and purposes a "gospel," and its disappearance becomes as inexplicable as that of the Ur-Markus would have been, had such a document existed. But waiving for the present the question of the contents of Q, we notice that the incident as related in the First Gospel belongs to a section introduced by the formula, "When Jesus had ended these sayings." Now this phrase, or its equivalent, occurs invariably where the Evangelist passes from discourse to narrative of events. It occurs at the close of each of the five great blocks of sayings which form the outstanding feature of the First Gospel—a fact which has great significance in connexion with Matthew's contribution to the Gospel which bears his name. Further, the incident is sandwiched between the story of the healing of the leper, and the recovery of Peter's wife's mother, which are distinctly Markan sections. The only apparent reason for attributing the section to Q is that it is difficult to accept it as

Markan when it is not found in canonical Mark. But this is due to the assumption that the Second Gospel as we have it was before the other two Evangelists, and it will be shown later on in this article that we are not shut up to this theory, and that there is another which altogether avoids the difficulties raised by referring the section to Q.

If it be urged that the presence of a certain amount of reported speech in the section shows it to partake of the general characteristics of Q, it may be pointed out on the other hand that narrative does not exclude conversation such as we have in this incident, and that there is all the difference in the world between such conversation as we have here and the short pithy aphorisms which make up the Sermon on the Mount.

Other similar Markan omissions are to be found in the reference to the sheep (son) falling into a pit on the Sabbath (Matt. xii. 11-12=Luke xiv. 5-6) and the account of the death of Judas (Matt. xxvii. 3-8=Acts i. 18-19). But lack of space prevents our dealing with these. A general conclusion may, however, be drawn from these three classes of differences to the effect that they make the theory of canonical Mark as a source used by the first and third Evangelist very difficult, and we may well ask, before we accept it, whether there is no other explanation possible.

Now the theory of an Ur-Markus—that is, of an original Gospel used by all three Evangelists—has never gained any great amount of acceptance in England. It is wrecked on the plea that if such a Gospel ever existed it is strange that no reference to it should ever have been made in patristic writings. It is difficult to believe that it could so completely have disappeared. We do not advocate that theory here. There is, however, a modification of it which would secure the relief which it undoubtedly offers in such differences as we have been considering, and yet avoid the difficulty of its

disappearance. It consists in an application of the Proto, Deutero, and Trito Mark, with which Dr. Arthur Wright has made us familiar, not to an oral tradition as he does, but to documents.

May not the true explanation be found in the repetition of Mark's "Memoirs of Peter's preaching" by himself? Critics have not ignored altogether the possibility of some such explanation. Dr. J. Weiss holds that the canonical Mark is not identical with the Mark which lay before the first and third Evangelists. Dr. P. W. Schmiedel considers that, in the light of secondary passages, the canonical Mark is a later edition, and Dr. Salmon maintains that in our Mark we have what is "at once the oldest and the youngest of the Synoptics." Wendling considers that the present Mark is made up of three layers. He finds in the Gospel the work of a historian, a poet, and a theologian. We cannot follow this critic in that view, but taking the Markan narrative as we find it in all three Gospels we may trace a threefold character, due to the process of development in the thought and purpose of the writer, or it may be of the great preacher whose amanuensis he was. The simple narrative of events "terse and unadorned" would by frequency of repetition in public statement tend to become adorned with just those expressions which, as we have seen, make the Second Gospel so picturesque and vivid, while the growth of interpretation in the Christian Church would increase the amount of doctrinal matter, and cause the story to be recognised as a "Gospel." All these features exist in canonical Mark, but they are to be explained, not as the work of three writers imposed one upon another, but as the natural growth of the story as it was told or written down again and again.

Dr. Sanday himself seems to feel that there must have been some earlier manuscript of the Gospel in existence and that from it we may derive the sections in which there is a com-

bination of Matthew and Luke against Mark. Canonical Mark, he holds, to be a recension of that text. If the differences were merely verbal there would be very much to be said for this, but when we see that they consist also of considerable sections, the theory scarcely seems tenable. The possibility, however, of Markan narrative having come before the first and third Evangelists in a form similar to, and yet differing from, what we have in the canonical Mark may be claimed to be another step in the direction of recognising the possibility that more than one edition of Mark's Gospel was extant in the earliest days. Dr. Blass has made us familiar with the theory that Luke wrote more than one edition both of the Gospel that bears his name, and also of the book of the Acts of the Apostles. He accounts for the marked differences that exist between the Western and the Neutral Texts of those books in this way. We do not purpose to do more here than refer to this theory by way of making the point that such a thing was possible, and considering the method of producing literature in earliest days we should say that it was highly probable. If, then, Mark prepared his Gospel for the different congregations with which he was connected in earliest days in Caesarea, later on in Alexandria, and last of all in Rome, we have a simple yet most effective method of accounting for the general likeness belonging to all three versions of the Markan narrative and also for the points of difference.

Reverting by way of illustration to the points already mentioned in this article as creating difficulty, we notice that such a miracle as that of the healing of the blind at Bethsaida, such a parable as that of the seed growing secretly, and such an incident as that of the young man that escaped naked from the hands of the soldiers that took Jesus prisoner, are easily explained as not omissions made by Matthew and Luke, but additions made either by Peter or Mark as the

story grew in the course of their ministry under the directing control of the Holy Spirit, who brought everything to their remembrance of what their Lord had done or said. The story of the Syrophenician woman would fail to find a place in the Third Gospel because it was not in the earliest edition used by Luke. The growth of the Gentile Church, accompanied as that was by Paul's revolt from the whole theory of things clean and unclean according to Mosaic law, had invested the incident with new and important significance, and so it would find its place in the later editions. The application of this theory to the story of the healing of the Centurion's son is of special importance, as it affects not only our conception of the Markan source but also that of the source designated "Q." We have already suggested that this incident belongs far more to the category of "narrative" than to that of "discourses," and that to relegate it to Q raises as many difficulties as it removes. The theory of three editions of the Markan narrative allows us at once to see that it may have been included in the earlier editions and yet be excluded from the third. Nor need we be always anxious to account for such omissions. The advantage of simplicity in dealing with such matters is very great, and something should always be allowed to the judgment of the Evangelist in including or omitting incidents in his telling of the story.

The account of the Baptism and Temptation of our Lord as given in the three Gospels bristles with difficulties for those who believe that canonical Mark was before the first and third Evangelists. Where did these last obtain the full details on these matters, so conspicuously missing from the Second Gospel ?

Again recourse is had to Q, and with a similar result. It makes Q to be far more of a Gospel, properly so called, than a collection of discourses ; and it raises further difficulties

when we see that there is a difference in detail between the account in the First and that in the Third Gospel. If both of these used Q, how is it that they differ from one another as they do ? But according to the three editions theory we can understand that the story of the Baptist's mission, of his baptism of our Lord and of the Temptation, so closely connected with it, would be given in far greater detail in the earlier editions, while in a later edition prepared for sojourners in Rome to whom such matters would be remote and comparatively uninteresting, the barest reference to these events by way of introduction to the ministry of our Lord would suffice. At the same time the fact that the first and third Evangelists used different editions of the Markan narrative would account for points of difference between these two. It thus becomes unnecessary to exhaust ingenuity to explain why the order of the temptations of our Lord differs in the two Gospels, or why the account of the preaching of the Baptist is so much fuller in the Third than it is in the First Gospel. It is easy to multiply examples of the relief afforded in this section alone by this theory which we venture to emphasise. Space forbids our doing this, and it must suffice to call attention to the matter, and to plead that a more thorough application of this theory be made before accepting as conclusive that canonical Mark was used by the compilers of the First and Third Gospels.

One other matter remains to be considered in connexion with the Markan narrative. Did the author use the document known as Q ? In the essays, to which such frequent reference has been made, Mr. Streeter, followed by Dr. Sanday, says that he did. But no one will surely contend that "narrative" excludes "sayings." It must be remembered that these priceless sayings of our Lord were for the most part *obiter dicta*. Matthew's collection of them has made us think of them as being definite and formal

discourse. There is good reason for accepting that such arrangement of these sayings as we have both in the First and the Third Gospel was more a matter of editorial work, and that the words were first spoken as our Lord performed His works of healing, or entered into the intercourse that each day afforded. Mark, as he describes such work and intercourse, would mention what Jesus said on each occasion, and it is unnecessary to say either that any word in the Second Gospel, reminiscent of what we find in the Sermon on the Mount, is a "mutilation" of Q, or that he "probably only quoted from memory." After all the author of the "sayings" is not Matthew, but Jesus, and in describing so much of the wonderful history as seemed to him sufficient for his purpose Mark might well state, sometimes in slightly differing form, what Jesus said on occasions without our supposing that he was dependent on the Logia.

We have no space in this article for dealing with the other most interesting questions that belong to Q, and the special sources that seem to have been used by Luke. We may rejoice that the vexed questions that have gathered so long around the Synoptic Gospels are now presented to us in such a way as to make a solution appear far more probable than it did only a few years ago. Solution of this problem contains the promise of even greater things. It is well that the Essays so well put before us by Dr. Sanday should close with one on the eschatological problem. The nearer we come to a conclusion as to the sources of the three Gospels, the more easy will it be to discuss the significance of such apocalyptic references as they contain.

W. W. HOLDSWORTH.

DR. JOHANNES LEPSIUS ON THE SYMBOLIC
LANGUAGE OF THE REVELATION.¹

A. INTRODUCTION.

THE request has been made to me that I should explain more clearly what is meant by the words used in the first part of this Introduction (EXPOSITOR, February, 1911, p. 163) : " In those lands [i.e. the east Mediterranean countries] there was current an opinion that there is in heaven a world corresponding to and typical of the world of earth. Everything that is done rightly on earth has its prototype and justification in the heavenly world. Every congregation on earth has its heavenly counterpart : the churches have their stars and their candlesticks in heaven." This view underlies my study of parts of the Revelation, published as *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, and is there illustrated from various standpoints, but not on the astronomical or astrological side. I therefore add some comment on that aspect of the question.

This request leads straight into the difficult subject of the difference between the simpler old Oriental thought and the modern highly complex Western thought. The old Oriental thought stands far closer to the primitive and natural ways of contemplating the world and its phenomena ; and it is not easy to put away from us the acquired habits to which we have become so inured that they seem to us natural and necessary and universal. Yet the entire New Testament is composed on a different plane of thought

¹ The translator of Dr. Lepsius's articles regrets that, owing to difficulty in deciphering her handwriting and the fact that residence abroad made it impossible for her to see a proof, the name Confucius was printed instead of Copernicus on p. 167. Further, in the title and concluding signature, Johann appeared instead of Johannes in the first two parts, a mistake for which she was not responsible.

and outlook from that on which we stand ; and the more one succeeds in habituating oneself to the old Oriental way of contemplating the world, the more deeply does one feel that a good deal of modern critical study moves on a different plane, and is too hard and definite (both the conservative and the "advanced" schools in varying degrees fall under this description), whereas ancient thought was more fluid and undefined.

Take the very simplest and humblest of cases, one which is so trite that an apology must be made for using it, because those who have not fully realised what it implies almost seem to be slightly annoyed when it is mentioned, as if the allusion to it implied something of an insult to their intelligence. The ancients carried no watches and had no clocks—I mean in our sense of the term—and only a few scientific observers ever thought of an hour as a fixed and invariable measure of time. To the ancients an hour was one-twelfth of the period between sunrise and sunset, and this hour is always different in absolute length to-day, both from what it was yesterday and from what it will be to-morrow. Hence it would have been valueless in ancient times to measure duration by counting and stating the number of hours during which any phenomenon or event lasted ; in midwinter four *horæ* made about three hours of our time, while at midsummer they made five. This is so elementary that some grow impatient when it is stated ; but it has to be stated because very few modern scholars seem to realise that our modern habits of accuracy in regard to time affect strongly our expression and thought, and that ancient custom was markedly different. How many of our scholars have ever read a Greek or Roman author for the purpose of noting how far this elementary fact influenced his language and his way of thinking ? Very few, I think. Yet I often find, in explaining a Latin author to a class in college, that I have

to show how the expression arises from the writer's looseness in regard to time, and would be differently put by a modern writer. His outlook is not ours, and is readily criticised by us from a wrong point of view, and not easily understood rightly by the modern critic.

This looseness in respect of the lapse of time shows itself in many ways among the ancient writers. Not merely were the hours an impossible way of estimating time, for they were useful only as points, but not as measures of duration. Even the months and years were also of comparatively small value, until they were fixed by the Julian system in 46 B.C. Hence chronology was awkward and difficult, and methods of chronological indication and counting were rudimentary and liable to much miscalculation. It was a really hard thing for an historian to express a period or a date in such a way as to convey the same meaning to his readers; and it is no wonder that the dates of ancient history are so uncertain and cause so much discussion and such diversity of opinion, for they were as obscure in ancient times as they are now. That cumbrous reckoning by the names of annual magistrates, which conveys so little information to those who do not possess a list of magistrates, has its value, when other methods are so uncertain. The reckoning by counting the years of a king or emperor is exposed to numerous uncertainties, and is often quite vague, unless the reader is informed which out of many possible ways of counting was followed by the writer. The cure for all these evils lay in more careful study of the book of the sky, and better understanding of its signs. Scientific method of study grew up gradually, but astrological and unscientific methods grew much more rapidly at an early date.

As Dr. Lepsius says in the opening of his Section H, below :
 "The chronological systems of the ancient world rest on an astrological foundation." Even the ordinary measures of

time and of the lapse of time, every attempt made by the common man to estimate the movement of time during day or night or in the recurrence of the seasons, were founded on personal observation of the sky according to a system of interpretation ; and this whole system is summed up in the term astrology.

Astrology in this wide sense was developed out of the early attempts to attain some method of giving precision in respect of time. As all the simpler and more obvious methods of reckoning time proved useless or misleading, it was necessary to study the heavens more minutely. Thus there was gradually discovered a trustworthy method of reckoning.

The progress of time was estimated during the night by the aspect of the stars, and during the day of course by the position of the sun. The latter custom is so obvious and universal that it needs no illustration, and we have only to add that it would not increase appreciably the knowledge of astronomy among the people who practised it except indirectly in a fashion that will be alluded to. It was founded on a rough eye-estimate of the distance of the sun from mid-heaven or from the horizon, and in practice it produced little more than a division of the day into two main parts, or halves, viz. the part before the moment when the sun was in mid-heaven, i.e. before noon, and the part after that moment. There came into existence also a rudimentary subdivision of each into two parts, the earlier part of the forenoon and the later part of the afternoon, these being marked out by the nearness of the sun to the eastern and western horizon respectively. With the use of the sun-dial came the numbering of the hours from one to twelve ; but these points of time changed every day, except the sixth hour, which was always noon. So far, this all results naturally from the circumstances, and is a commonplace in discussions.

Much more difficult was the estimation of the hour of night. The moon is more varied in its apparent motion, and is often not visible for a season ; and the stars had to be observed and studied for this purpose. An example may be taken from Roman literature.

In the opening of the "Iphigenia" of Ennius, when Agamemnon asks his old servant what aspect of the night is seen in the sky, i.e. what o'clock it is,

*quid noctis videtur in altisono
caeli clipeo ?*

the latter answers in the simple style of the peasant, familiar with the look of the sky, and accustomed to deduce therefrom a rough estimate of the lapse of time,

*superat temo
stellas cogens iterum atque iterum
noctis sublime iter.¹*

From the position of the Wain at its height, as it forces the stars in their nightly course through the heavens, he inferred that it was about the dead of night. So unfamiliar are we in modern times with this method of reckoning, that most students have to ponder over the passage for some time and perhaps to consult some astronomical authority, before they gather the meaning of those words, which to the ancients were the natural expression of the ordinary man. The purpose of the tragedian was not (as it might be in a modern poet) to adorn his page with a pretty but rather recondite picture of the nightly sky and motion of the stars ; he wished simply to present a homely picture of a rough uneducated peasant, guessing the hour of night in his usual way.

¹ I follow the simple (but perhaps not correct) reconstruction of the text given by Dr. Merry. For our present purpose it makes no difference which of several proposed forms of texts is right : in all the one important fact appears that the time of night is estimated from the motion of the Great Bear.

The latter part of the night and the approach of daylight was estimated from the Morning Star, during its periodic appearance. Examples of this custom are quoted from common modern Oriental usage by Col. Mackinlay in his book *The Magi : how they recognised Christ's Star* (p. 22 f.) ; and he has gone on to show that many things in the Bible, which we have been accustomed to read as if they were artificial and ornamental, were the expression of direct observation of nature in the sky or on the earth.¹

Even more important and characteristic than this custom of estimating the time of night by the movement of the stars, was the habit of recognising the progress of the seasons and the period of the year by the rising and setting of the stars. So long as lunar months were used by the people as the measure of time, the process of the months gave no useful indication of the process of the seasons. Either the months moved about the solar year (as still in the Moham-medan year at the present day, so that the month of Rama-zan is sometimes in midwinter and sometimes in summer or autumn or spring), or, when an extra lunar month was intercalated at intervals, in order to preserve the correspondence between solar and lunar years, the correspondence was so rough and imperfect that the months give only a poor and vague indication of the seasons of the year. Even in the early stages of reckoning by solar years, when intercalation was performed in a rude fashion, the monthly indication was of small value. When Caesar introduced the Julian system in 46 B.C., the months had got about eighty days out of place in the solar year, so that January was in December.

The rules of agriculture in early times could, therefore, not possibly be expressed according to the months. It was

¹ Some other illustrations are given in the present writer's *Education of Christ* (p. 73 ff.), and in *Luke the Physician and other Studies* (p. 220 ff.).

useless to prescribe that the farmer should be on the outlook for the right moment to begin reaping about the beginning or the middle of such and such a month, when that month in a well regulated calendar might vary by fifteen to thirty days in its relation to a true solar year, and in a badly regulated calendar might shift round the whole year. But the heliacal risings of the stars furnished a sure means of estimating the seasons in the early stages of the world's history; and the old rules of agriculture are measured by the heavenly calendar. As Hesiod says, "When the Pleiades, daughters of Atlas, are at their rising, begin the reaping, and the ploughing when they are about to set." So with the other rules.

Accordingly, since the natural month, viz. that indicated by the phases of the moon, the time that elapses from one new moon to the next, is valueless as a measure to show the recurrence of the seasons, more careful observation of the sky and the motions of the stars was necessary. The attention of men was directed strongly to this study, which took a hold on their minds and occupied a large share of their thoughts. It was so important a study that its importance was exaggerated; and the belief readily grew up that not merely the conduct of agriculture, etc., but also the whole life of man, could be read in the heavens, if the stellar motions were fully understood.

Now agriculture was, in primitive times, closely associated with religion. The goddess had taught her people the ways of agriculture and its seasons, just as she also had taught them the methods and times of managing domestic animals, and of horticulture, and of apiculture,¹ etc. The signs for each operation were set in the heavens for all to read who had been properly instructed. The divine power

¹ On the connexion of apiculture with religion, see the article on Greek and Anatolian Religion in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. p. 116 ff. J

was always calculating and registering for man the laws and seasons of nature in the motions of the celestial bodies. All things that were most important in life, and even many unimportant actions, had their due season ; and the heavens measured and indicated the proper time for each. There was a celestial life, which formed the counterpart and the guarantee of the terrestrial life. Man should look to the heavens for guidance ; and the guidance comes through astrological interpretation of the signs.

Such is the basis of astrology ; and it is evidently a sound and true basis for all men and for every religion. On this basis, however, a vast superstructure was erected, largely through false and fanciful analogies, and even by perversions. But there is a real, natural and trustworthy foundation.

The Etruscan and Roman and Greek sciences of augury were among the perversions of this fundamentally true idea that the heavens give to men the signs of the times and seasons. The augural science elaborated the doctrine that because (what is perfectly right and true) the Divine power is always striving to guide men, to reveal itself to men and to warn them against wrongdoing, therefore everything that a man sees occurring in the sky, such as the flight of birds, or the atmospheric phenomena, are signs of the will of God and warnings of his coming fate or fortune. If, for example, he is starting on a journey, and a bird flies across his path in one direction, he will be successful in his enterprise ; but if the bird flies in the opposite direction, he will be unlucky and ought to abandon his voyage.¹ This augural discipline was elaborated to an extraordinary degree of artificiality, until it became almost farcical ; and so was the astrological discipline.

There was nothing repellent to the ancient mind in the

¹ The signs which a magistrate sees in his official capacity show the destiny of the State, the signs which are granted to a general in supreme command affect the fortunes of his army, and so on.

astrological teaching. On the contrary, a moderate astrological teaching was necessary for right life ; and there was therefore a presumption and prejudice in favour of certain developments of it, which we now regard as foolish and meaningless ; and it required an effort of the thinking mind to reject or even to doubt the more elaborate and artificial developments, which trenched more and more on the realm of the forbidden arts of reading the future. Some part of astrology was wise and right, some part was artificial and over-elaborate without being wrong ; and it was possible to expatiate widely in this realm of celestial symbolism, without ever touching on anything that could shock the most sensitive religious mind in ancient time.

There is another aspect of this subject which should not be wholly omitted, although it touches a topic so wide and far-reaching as to far transcend the limits of this Introduction and the competence of the present writer. It was in their attitude towards the starry firmament, " the thousand thousand myriads of myriads of angels, the starry army of the celestial hosts,"¹ that the ancients approached most closely to thinking about the Infinite. Not only is that the natural path of approach to this conception in the early stages of human thought, but also the Greeks in particular hated and shrank from the very idea of Infinity. To them the Finite seemed to be the right subject for man to think about. The Finite was subject to measure and bounds, and was characterised by that order and symmetry which the Greek mind craved for, whereas it regarded all that transcended the conditions and limitations of human thought as repellent and rebellious. The Infinite, τὸ ἄπειρον, was evil and bad, the Finite, τὸ πεπερασμένον, was good and true and wise.

¹ Quoted from Dr. Lepsius' expression of the meaning that lies in Revelation v. 11 (see EXPOSITOR, March, p. 225).

We, on the contrary, now attempt to lead on the mind to the Infinite as the goal and the proper subject of contemplation. The Infinite is the true and the really existent, because God is infinite. The human mind is imperfect and therefore incomplete and evil, just because it is bounded and hedged in and conditioned by limitations. There is no direction in which the contrast between the Greek and the modern thought is more absolute than in this.

The contrast is brought before the eye with special impressiveness in the ancient temple as contrasted with the Gothic cathedral. The former, especially the Greek, is the perfection of order and ornate beauty, a blaze of colour¹ and artistic work; but it lies low, near the level of the eye in comparison with its lateral extent, close to the standard of human life. There is little or nothing in it or its adornment to carry the mind away from the plane of earth. The Gothic cathedral appeals to a totally different kind of emotion, the mind cannot but be directed away from the things of ordinary life as one stands in a cathedral and looks around and finds that the gaze is drawn upwards, whether one will or no. The religious effect of the cathedral is immeasurably stronger than that of the temple.

In comparing the two, however, one would make a vast error, if one forgot that the ancient temple did not, and was not intended to, fulfil all the purposes which are aimed at in the modern cathedral. The temple was supplemented by the vault of heaven. A very large part of ancient life and of ancient religion was calculated for the open air. The temple was not much more than a storehouse for the Divine things. Many of the greatest religious ceremonies took place under the dome of the sky. Men were watched by

¹ In looking at the ruins of a Greek temple in their monotone, with all the colour gone, one might forget that originally the building was a blaze of colour, both in the sculptural and in the architectural parts.

the great eye of heaven, the Sun, through the whole day, and they were always on the outlook for the signs of the Divine will in the sky, whether by day or by night. The motions of the stars declared the intentions and revealed the nature of God. The temple and the firmament conspired to fulfil the purposes of the modern cathedral ; and who will maintain that the conjunction may not prove more effective in a religious point of view than the greatest of cathedrals ? Has not religion lost something of its power over the mind, since it regarded the building alone as the house of God ?—for that is practically very much the opinion of the modern ordinary religious man, even though he may in theory and word on some occasions express a different opinion.

The sky and the stars thus played a far greater part in ancient than in modern religious life ; and the part that it played may be summed up in the term astrology with its good side and its bad, its basis of truth and usefulness and its accretion of artificiality and of evil.

When the prophet in the Old Testament spoke of God coming to Egypt riding on a cloud, his expression was partly, but not wholly metaphorical. He did, after all, recognise that the cloud was the messenger and vehicle of Divine power, an angel of the Lord (Isaiah xix. 1). All the heavenly bodies and all the phenomena of the sky were the servants and messengers of God.

When Homer in the *Odyssey*, Book VII., makes his hero walk invisible through the city of the Phaeacians and into the palace of the king, his expression approaches more closely to figurative language. He did not think of a cloud moving through the city as Ulysses walked towards the palace, for that would only have attracted popular attention. His words are an attempt to compensate for the poverty of existing language and the indefiniteness of thought : he wished to

say that Ulysses was made invisible by the power of the goddess ; and he naturally used an analogy drawn from the obscuration of the sky and the stars by a cloud. The cloud that prevents the shepherd from seeing the stars which act ordinarily as his guides, is interposed by Divine power ; and the goddess by the same device prevents the crowd from seeing Ulysses.

It is a long step, indeed, from this simple stage of astrological thought to the complex imagery of the Revelation ; but the distance is not untraversable. The calculation of years was, as a fact, elaborated by the ancients into a complex system so as to make the days and months fit the recurring motions of the celestial bodies. Any ancient system of intercalation seems complex to us only because it is unfamiliar ; but it is not more complex than the Gregorian system, and distinctly less complex than the calculation of the incidence of Easter. In the latter case we see religious feeling clinging to an antiquated and ineffective system of fixing an old festival to a certain season of the year, a system which was not practised by the earliest Christians and might not have been accepted by them.

Given the religious feeling that the sky was peopled by myriads of myriads of angels the astrological complexity of ancient thought naturally and inevitably grew up ; and, being familiar to the ancients, it seemed to them no more complex than the familiar Gregorian system and other devices seem to us.

The question, however, must obtrude itself on every mind, how far this elaborately planned and highly complicated structure of the Revelation, as it is set before us by Dr. Lepsius,¹ is in harmony with the situation of the seer as a prisoner in the island of Patmos, a prisoner suffering chains and hard labour and cut off almost wholly from human

¹ See the Sections *H* and *I* following.

intercourse. The situation as a prisoner is vouched for in the book itself : the terrible conditions of the imprisonment are proved by the conditions of the case.¹ The difficulties, however, to a large extent disappear when we take into consideration two facts.

In the first place, the mind of the seer was saturated with the Jewish literature of the Apocalyptic type. It is well known that there were many Apocalypses already in existence. It was the most favourite and common form of Jewish literary composition in the later period before Christ. If such a form was frequently adopted by writers, it must have found many readers. The literature of a nation comes into existence to satisfy national needs and desires ; it is in a sense the creation of the readers as truly as it is the work of the writers.

That the Revelation took its shape in the mind of a writer whose mind was powerfully and deeply influenced by the Jewish literature of this class is, of course, evident and admitted. So patent is this fact, that several modern critics have maintained that the Seer of the Revelation took one or more older Jewish Apocalypses and put them bodily into his " vision," merely adding Christian parts or inserting here and there brief Christian touches : such a work then would cease to be a real vision, and would become a purely artificial composition, constructed largely with scissors and paste.² So strong indeed is the Jewish element in the Revelation that we must admit one of two alternatives. The first alternative is that some theory of that kind is true. The second alternative is that John was familiar with Jewish literature of the Apocalyptic class,

¹ As stated in *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 83.

² Vischer took the first bold and well-thought out steps in this direction, and he has been followed by others with various theoretical reconstructions of a similar general type.

his mind was saturated with it and the visions of his mind naturally moulded themselves into similar forms to those Apocalypses; therefore, what he saw as the truth of the universe—the message which was given him to convey to his Asian congregations—took its outward form and arrangement from his cast of thought and mind; and his thought was the product of his education (which was partly Jewish and partly Christian).

That the second of these alternatives is true, and that the theories which move in the line of the first alternative have been taking a false direction has long appeared to me the necessary conclusion. Those theories rest on evident facts, but they view the facts (as I think) in a wrong light and in distorted perspective. Already in 1892 in the Mansfield College Lectures (which were published in 1893 as *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 180*) I said on p. 298: "John was greatly influenced by older Jewish works of this character" (i.e. Apocalypses): there is only a question "in regard to the manner in which John used those previously existing Apocalypses. The Revelation, as we have it, is not a revised edition of a Jewish document. It is the work of a Christian writer who was familiar with Jewish Apocalypses, and adapted to his own purposes much that was contained in some one or more of them; but this writer treated the material with a mastery and freedom that made his work in its entirety a Christian document, however strong are the traces of the older form in parts of it." Heaven-high superiority is consistent with likeness.

No reason to alter this opinion has presented itself to me in the intervening eighteen years; but I should like to acknowledge how much I had learned from the theories of that type which I could not on the whole accept. Especially Vischer's short treatise, the first of the kind which I had seen on this subject, was the first book that turned me to-

wards serious thought about the Revelation, and serious attempt to understand its plan ; and though success seems as far off as ever in regard to considerable parts of the book, yet parts are clear, and the general character as a statement of principles, not as a foretelling of facts, is certain.

W. M. RAMSAY.

(*To be continued.*)

LEXICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.*

XXII.

προτίθημι.—*Syll.* 325¹⁵ (i/B.C.), an inscr. whose contacts with New Testament language have been noticed before, has *τισιν δὲ τῶν πολειτῶν εἰς] λύτρα προτιθείς* (sc. *χρήματα*), ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὸν πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀπάντησιν τῶν σφζομένων εὐομείλητον, “ offering money for the ransom of other citizens, he showed himself gracious at every welcoming of those who from time to time safely returned.” BU 372 ii¹⁸ (154 A.D. —cf. FP 24⁸ and note), ἔστω π[ρο]θεσμία † [αὐτοῖς], ἐξ οὗ ἂν τοῦτό μου τὸ διάταγμα ἐν ἐκάστῳ νομῷ προτεθῇ, μῆνες ‡— “ let their limit of time be three months from the date of publication of my edict in each several nome.” What help will either of these passages give us for Romans iii. 25 ? Deissmann’s brilliant pages (*BS* 124–135) have finally settled the meaning of *ἱλαστήριον* there. He does not discuss *προέθετο*, but translates it “ publicly set forth,” without illustrating it. It will be risky perhaps, but the temptations of the inscription are rather strongly seducing us to another rendering. The hero in this passage is really an apt parable : he spent his wealth freely on the “ ran-

* For abbreviations see the February and March (1908) *EXPOSITOR*, pp. 170, 262.

† The word of Galatians iv. 2, an old law term, very common in papyri.

‡ Why does Krebs put “ (*sic*) ” here ?

som ” of his fellow-citizens from the barbarian invaders, and “ let all men see ” (ἔδειξεν, another contact) his hearty delight in the welcome home of the “ delivered ” prisoners. Can we render “ whom God *offered* ” or “ *provided* as a propitiatory gift ” ? We do not thus take off from the thought of *publicity* which S.H. and Deissmann rightly recognise in it. Paul plays on the familiarity of these “ gifts ” to the gods, and with the suggestive middle reminds us that *God* provided the costly gift that restored harmony between men and Himself : men had nothing to offer, and “ God provided Himself a lamb for the burnt-offering.” The thought of the *ransom* comes in ver. 24. The whole of this Divine paradox is designed to let all men see what God’s “ righteousness ” means—His way of making it possible that He should be εὐομύλητος again, as it were, to men whom He makes worthy of His welcome.

προτρέπω, προὔπαρχω, προφέρω and προχειρίζω happen to come together to illustrate the fact that specifically Lucan words can constantly be traced in vernacular sources : if Luke’s vocabulary was “ choice,” it was never over the heads of the common people.

προφητεία.—The noun is well established against Grimm’s restriction of its vogue : thus see TbP ii. p. 448 (index), giving its occurrences in the series of documents (mostly ii/A.D.) relating to the sales of this lucrative spirituality among the priests of Soknebtunis. “ Advowson ” would really be the nearest word, for (as the editors show on p. 64) the successful bidder secured the office for his heirs after him, who had only to pay an entrance fee : there was, however, a tendency to disestablish them, which accounts for the low price (3½ years’ purchase) at which one man secures his prize. On p. 55 will be found other notes as to the temple, its glebe of Crown land, and the board of at least

ten "presbyters" who administered it at the turn of i/A.D. *OGIS* 111¹⁸ shows us a *προφήτης* in Upper Egypt in ii/B.C. See Deissmann *BS* 235-7 and Dittenberger's note on *Syll.* 557¹³. Note *Syll.* 790²² (i/B.C.) where a procession is ordered in honour of the oracle of Apollo Coropaeus (Corope, on the Pagasaeon Gulf): it is composed of an elected *ἱερεύς* of Apollo, one each from the colleges of *στρατηγοί* and *νομοφύλακες*, one of the *πρυτάνεις* and a *ταμίας*, and finally *τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν προφήτην*. Here, as in Greek usage throughout, the priest and the prophet are sharply distinguished: the prophet is the interpreter of the oracle—"the composer" would come nearer to fact—and the *γραμματεὺς* takes down the response he dictates.

πρωτεύω.—Cf. *δευτερεύω* in Witk. 35 (=P. Pass. 13, iii/B.C.) and the editor's note.

πτύον.—This word, from the vocabulary of "Q," appears in a letter of the illiterate landowner Gemellus, FP 120⁵ (c. 100 A.D.).

πυρετός.—The Lucan combination with *συνέχεσθαι* (Luke iv. 38, Acts xxviii. 8) a technical phrase (Hobart pp. 3 f., 52), is paralleled in OP 896³³ (316 A.D.), where doctors certify a person to be *κλεινήρην, πυραιτίοις* (gap of some 10 letters) *συνεχ[όμενον]*, "seized with a slight . . . fever": note the technical plural, on which Hobart comments. A layman using the word in a curse, *Syll.* 890²⁰ (ii/A.D.) has it in the singular, like Mark.

ῥαδιουργία.—In *Mél. Nicole* p. 454¹¹ T. Reinach re-edits MP 35, a Ptolemaic document, complaining of the "theft" of a cloak, which the miscreants had deposited in a Jewish proseucha in the town of Alexandronesus: M. Reinach remarks on the fact that in this little place the Jews could muster the ten heads of families needed for a synagogue. According to his reading, the *ῥαδιουργοί* in question got

Jews to witness that the cloak was theirs : the community it seems looked forward to Fagin in religious affinity rather than back to Moses. BU 226 has ρ . for *theft* : in PHerm 9¹⁵ the hiatus preceding makes the nature of the crime indeterminate.

$\rho\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\acute{o}s$.—It is perhaps not wholly beside the mark to recall that in the papyri this word is very often used for “*debased*” coin : thus TbP 348⁶ (23 A.D.), $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ $\rho\upsilon\pi(\alpha\rho\acute{o}\upsilon)$ $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}s$ $\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\nu\omicron$, “*twelve dr. of debased silver*” (G. H.). Mayor in his note on James i. 21 observes that Plutarch uses $\rho\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ of *avarice*, which would excellently suit the idea of a debased moral coinage. If in Revelation xxii. 11 this clause stood alone, we might well paraphrase it “*He that is debased, let him be debased yet more*”—what pure metal there is must disappear : cf. the classical use of $\kappa\acute{\iota}\beta\delta\eta\lambda\omicron>s$ or $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\iota\beta\delta\eta\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron>s$ for a “*counterfeit*” man. But the antithesis to $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron>s$ makes the other sense better. The only other citation we can make for this group of words is from Syll. 879⁶ (end of iii/B.C.) a law $\tau\acute{\alpha}s$ $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha>s$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\phi\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\eta\tau\alpha$ $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\rho\upsilon\pi\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu$, “*women in mourning to wear grey clothing not defiled.*”

$\sigma\alpha\pi\rho\acute{o}s$.—To Notes ii. add Syll. 587²⁴ (328 B.C.), $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\omega\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\chi\acute{\iota}\varsigma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron>s$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\sigma\alpha\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\gamma\omega\nu$ $\kappa\tau.\lambda.$, “*decayed brickwork.*” This is the old classical meaning, as is natural in an Attic inscr. of the time of Demosthenes. In Hellenistic its connexion with $\sigma\acute{\eta}\pi\omega$ was lost, and it became a synonym of $\alpha\iota\sigma\chi\rho\acute{o}s$ or $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{o}s$.

$\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\iota\nu\omicron>s$.—BM iii. 186¹⁶⁹ (113 A.D.—accounts), “*Pachon 5th, $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\omicron\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ * 6 dr. to Evangelus the ropemaker. To price of $\kappa\omicron\mu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron> \kappa\alpha\iota$ $\zeta\epsilon\nu\kappa\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\chi.$ $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa.$ 40 dr.” “*Leather ropes*” are meant, a curious use. Towards the distinction of $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\iota\nu\omicron>s$ and $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron>s$ we might quote—though literature is off our beat—Marcus v. 1, $\tau\acute{\alpha}$*

* “*Evidently a part of the mechanism of the water-engines*” (Edd.).

ἀνθρωπικὰ ποιεῖν, “to do things proper to man,” compared with ἀνθρώπινα παθεῖν, the common euphemism for death.

σεμίδαλις.—So BU 1067¹⁵ (102 A.D.).

σεμνός.—C. and B. no 590 (ii. 656), Δούκιος γυναικὶ ἰδίᾳ σεμνοτάτῃ (obit 114 A.D.). Syll. 371¹³ (i/A.D.) a doctor ἀνάλογον πεπολήται τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τῇ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν πᾶσι σεμνότητι. Ib. 405¹⁷ (145 A.D.), δι’ οὗ πρὸς τὸ [μέλλον ἐλπίζει σ]εμνο[τέραν ποιή]σειν τὴν πόλιν. Cf. ἀσέμνως τὸν βίον διήγεν, BU 1024 vii²² (see above under παραμυθία). The word seems to answer to the Latin *gravis*.

σημαίνω.—Witk. 83 (=G 30⁶—103 B.C.), διὰ γραμμάτων ἐκρίναμεν σημῆναι, “I decided to signify the same by letter.” Ib. 86 (BU 1009⁵—ii/B.C.), [Μόσχο ?]ς γάρ σοι σημανεῖ ἕκαστα. So BU 1078⁴ (39 A.D.), it was wrong of you μὴ σημᾶναί μοι μηδὲ ἔν, and so ⁹; 1104¹⁵ (8 B.C.), σὺν τοῖς δι’ αὐτῆς σηματομένοισι πᾶσι (cf. 1106⁵). Rein P 7¹⁰ (141 ? B.C.), to pay ἐν τῷ σημανθέντι χρόνῳ, “within the stipulated time.” AP 31⁸ (112 B.C.), σημανθέντος, “it having been reported.” Finally there is the nursery acrostic again, TbP 278⁴² (i/A.D.), σημένεται μοι τηρῖ με γάρ, “He is indicated to me for he watches me(?)” (G. H.). Acts xxv. 27 has the meaning which comes most often here.

σημεῖον.—Two inscriptions are worth quoting. Syll. 384¹⁴ (117 A.D.) a rescript of Hadrian), ἡγούμην σημεῖα ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι: this is the meaning in 2 Corinthians xii. 12, where the genitive is of the same kind. For the meaning *sign*, i.e. *miracle*, cf. Syll. 326²⁵ (c. 107 B.C.), προεσάμανε (see σημαίνω above) τὰν μέλλουσαν γίνεσθαι πράξιν [διὰ τ]ῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γενομένων σαμείων. On the verb σημειοῦμαι see *Thess.* 117.

σιαγών.—This word, a specialty of “Q,” is found in BM iii. 170⁷ (136 A.D.), ὁμολογῶ πεπρακένε σοὶ κάμηλον ἄρσηνον (etc.) κεχαρακμένον τεξιὰν σιακόνην ταῦ ἄλφα, “a male camel branded T.A. on its right cheek.” This quota-

tion will suffice to show that Q's phrase is not of learned origin !

σκεῦος.—See *Notes* iii. Add BU 1065¹⁴ (97 A.D.), where it seems to be applied to gold and silver jewellery : cf. also BM iii. 161¹⁸ (212 A.D.), ἀπὸ τιμῆς ὧν ἀπέδετο ἡ αὐτὴ Δ. γυναικίῳ αὐτῆς κοσμηρίων καὶ σκευῶν. This makes it appropriate in Hebrews ix. 21, Romans ix. 21 *al.* In EP 14²¹ (iii/B.C.) it is joined with κτήνη. (Except BU *l.c.*, these are all σκευῶν, which might equally come from σκευή. The latter, however, has not appeared in any of our sources.) With the meaning "utensils" or the like, the word occurs in TbP 381¹³ (123 A.D.), ἐπίπλοα καὶ σκεύη καὶ ἐνδομενίαν καὶ ἱματισμόν, "furniture, utensils, household stock and apparel" (G. H.) ; PP iii. 107c, τῶν Ἀγήνορος σκευῶν, fares are paid "for A.'s furniture" (M.), *al.* Cf. σκευοφ(όρος) AP 62¹³ (ii/B.C.), "baggage carrier" (G.H.). Ship's furniture (as Acts xxvii. 17) is the subject of Syll. 537 (iv/B.C.), Συγγραφαὶ τῆς σκευοθήκης τῆς λιθίνης τοῖς κρεμαστοῖς σκεύεσιν κ.τ.λ.

σκηνόω.—Syll. 177³ (Teos, 303 B.C.) "every delegate (from Lebedos) sent to the Πανιώνιον we (i.e. King Antigonus) think should σκηνοῦν καὶ πανηγυρίζειν and be treated as a Teian." (See Hicks' *Manual* no. 149). The temporary dwelling in a tent is clearly indicated.

σκληρός.—Syll. 540⁹⁷ (175 B.C.) speaks of the working and building of the *hard* stone from Lebadeia, πέτρας τῆς σκληρᾶς : so OGIS 194²⁸ (42 B.C.), ἐκ σκληροῦ λίθου. But in this last inser. (l.¹⁴) σκληροτέρας καὶ [μείζονος συμφορᾶς] describes (with some doubt from hiatus) a pestilent miasma in the atmosphere. BU 140¹⁴ (time of Hadrian), τ[οῦτο οὐκ ἐδόκει σκληρὸν [εἶ]ναι shows the metaphorical sense so common in the New Testament.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

DR. MOFFATT ON THE LITERATURE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. GENERAL.

DR. MOFFATT is a figure of considerable interest and importance in the world of New Testament scholarship. He has read very widely in the modern literature of the subject. He has some remarkable literary gifts. He possesses an exceptional faculty for detecting analogies between different classes of literature, in cases where the analogies are hidden by the concomitants and surroundings. His series of articles called *Opera Foris* in the EXPOSITOR contained many noteworthy and often really brilliant illustrations of this kind, which attested the wide range of his reading, his true and broad sympathy, and his wonderful power of combination. His *Historical New Testament* might fairly be described as the work of a very clever young student, with an astonishing power of assimilating and reproducing in new combinations the opinions or "results" of older scholars. That is a stage which the young scholar has to go through. It is best to go through it quickly, and not to publish anything until it has been safely traversed. That book, however, was at least pardonable as the work of a young man transported with the enthusiasm of reading, who had not as yet had the leisure to do much real thinking, because the acquisitive process had for the time absorbed his energy and starved and withered the independence of his intellect.

The *Historical New Testament* possessed at any rate the interest that belongs to an early stage in the growth of a personality, which was capable of becoming independent and even great, provided that circumstances proved favourable to its development. For my own part I had the opinion, and

several times expressed it to others, that the writer of that book would within twenty years do some really good work, and would then partly smile at, and partly regret, his youthful enthusiasm for the ingenious vagaries of forgotten theorists, after his powers had grown stronger and his judgment had matured through experience of life. On one occasion later, when I read in the *British Weekly* a really beautiful leader to which his signature was attached, I claimed credit for having detected under the surface of that early book signs of the fine true quality and the sympathetic feeling which were clearly shown in that subsequent article in a weekly newspaper.

The present work, however, has gone back to the standard of the *Historical New Testament*. I can detect no broadening of the outlook, no deepening of the sympathy, little sign of growing independence of thought. The book is antiquated, as if it belonged to the nineteenth century. I do not mean that the author has failed to pay attention to more recent studies on the subject. Quite the contrary. Dr. Moffatt has allowed little or nothing in recent work to escape him. He has been reading the last products of scholarship with the same carefulness and voracity as before, when he wrote the *Historical New Testament*. But his method is much the same as formerly. He takes up the more recent theories with the same earnestness and—I will not say enthusiasm, but rather the same perfectly confident assumption that the right way of study lies in sifting and weighing these theories and thus discovering “here a little and there a little,” which is correct and valuable, and also with the same antecedent conviction that truth is to be found somewhere amid the mass of writing. This method he would doubtless defend on the ground that it is moving with the times and keeping in the van of modern research ; but, if the initial principle is wrong, it is as useless

when applied to the critics, whether "orthodox" or "progressive," of the period 1900-1910 as when applied to those of the preceding fifty years.

To us the result appears to be that Dr. Moffatt has grown more learned, but that his individuality is as deeply buried as ever; and it is more difficult to force one's way out into spiritual independence after ten more years spent in tabulating the results and opinions of other men. He is fit for far higher work than this; but the time is shortened.

In literary criticism it is not uncommon to assume that, because a book shows great learning and ingenuity and ability, therefore there must be a certain amount of truth and value in it; and Dr. Moffatt seeks for this residuum of truth after riddling out all the rubbish; but that is not good scientific method. Many a writer starts his investigation on a false principle, and deduces a series of perfectly logical and wonderfully ingenious conclusions, which share in the weakness of the initial assumption; the sole value of the book, then, is to demonstrate the falsity of the first principle. There are many works of modern literary criticism which assume the whole contents and issues in the opening pages.

Specific examples one shrinks from giving; it is an invidious thing to do; but I shall give only one, which I take from a friend of my own, an excellent scholar, who did some excellent work, the late Dr. W. G. Rutherford, so that no one can charge me with censorious motives. Dr. Moffatt quotes a sentence on p. 36 note from Dr. Rutherford's edition of *The Fourth Book of Thucydides*, p. xxxi.: "Nothing could have prevented the importation into the text of an author of a great deal of what was properly comment." That principle was quite fashionable for a time among recent scholars. It sounds very plausible: one readily sees the process by which the gloss written on the margin

of a page of a manuscript was mistaken by a subsequent copyist for a part of the text that had been forgotten by the writer of the manuscript; the copyist, making this mistake, puts the gloss into the text of his copy at the point to which it seems to belong. Start with Dr. Rutherford's principle that this *must* have frequently happened; sit in your study month after month and year after year working at your author; add the magnificent ingenuity and erudition of that great scholar. The result is—his edition of *Thucydides Book IV*, the main value of which, and of some other modern works on similar lines, simply is to prove that the initial principle is false. The general agreement of recent scholars has condemned the principle; and the discoveries in Egypt of many fragments of very early manuscripts on papyrus have gone far in the way of justifying the manuscript text.

It is quite true that those glosses might have crept through a series of errors into the text, and also that they did in a few cases creep in; but, as a whole, that did not often happen, and glosses generally were recognised as such and vanished from subsequent copies. The scare raised by Dr. Rutherford and by others before him was not more reasonable than the alarm of a merchant, to whom the thought suddenly occurred that all his clerks might be frequently making mistakes in entering figures in account books. Mistakes of that kind are quite possible, and are in some cases made by clerks; but, on the whole, it is safe to say that they need not be taken into account.

It is therefore not right to quote an exploded *dictum* of Dr. Rutherford's as if it were quite trustworthy. Dr. Moffatt's pages 37–38 giving examples of glosses and interpolations contain some that are not correctly stated, and many that are not really analogous to the phenomena which he seeks to establish for the text of the New Testament.

II. LITERARY ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BOOK.

If I attempt to justify my inability to praise this book in the way that I should like, and in the way that, as I have already mentioned, I at one time anticipated, I do so with much reluctance and diffidence, yielding only to the urgent pressure put on me by the Editor of this journal and to the wish expressed by several other friends. To put my reason in a sentence, I should say that the author never reaches the historical point of view ; he never shows any comprehension of the way in which great events work themselves out. It may be said, of course, that he is writing an *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, and not a study of early Christian history ; but in a surpassing degree the literature of the New Testament is the expression of the life of the Church, and can never be rightly understood if it is regarded simply as literature. Dr. Moffatt knows that well, and shows his knowledge by constantly referring the literature to the development of the Church, as he conceives it ; ¹ but he looks at history with a certain literary quality of mind, and not with the understanding and sympathy of practical knowledge. His many brilliant literary gifts, and especially his wonderful gift of seeing literary analogies, tend to warp his historical judgment, and require sometimes to be sternly controlled by him.

The author brings his wide reading in modern literature to bear on the illustration of his subject by profuse quotations and elaborate comparisons or similes. Sometimes these "purple patches" lighten up rather quaintly the laborious collection of opinions and references. On p. 594, "The Homeric hymns, it has been said, are neither hymns

¹ He will not dissent from this opinion that right study of the literature of the New Testament is impossible without keeping the eye constantly turned towards historical method : as he says in the *Historical New Testament*, p. 56 : " True criticism of the New Testament is like science, it becomes ' a precious visitant ' only when it has been trained in the methods of historical evolution."

nor Homer's. The so-called 'first epistle of John' is neither an epistle nor is it John's, if by John is meant the son of Zebedee." Then a few lines down the page, "Lord Hailes once pointed out to Boswell his additions to a legal paper originally drawn up by Dr. Johnson. The editor of 'First John' had, in all likelihood, some share in the editorial process through which the Fourth Gospel reached its final form." There would have been more point in the allusion to Lord Hailes, if, like him, the editor of "First John" had pointed out to some one the additions that he made to the Gospel; but these unfortunately remain uncertain. The allusion to the Homeric hymns is a piece of smart writing, but savours too much of flippant journalism. There is no real analogy, nothing but the forced and purely verbal analogy of an epigrammatic balance.

Much better in taste, and much more apt and illuminative as an illustration, is the comparison on p. 148 between *Romans* and Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.¹ In both cases what was begun as a letter grew beyond the character of a letter, and yet retained the outward form of one.

Not so illuminative, but still quite pertinent and in good taste, is the quotation from Theocritus and the elaborate application of it on p. 597. It is purely ornamental, it is only a "purple patch"; but it is ingenious, clever, and interesting.

On page 171 we have a very favourable specimen of Dr. Moffatt's comparisons. As Baur and Manen judged of Philippians, "so did Johnson judge of Gray." This well brings out by a brief touch the utter incompatibility of Baur and Manen to sympathise with, and therefore to judge, Paul. But why not extend the comparison? It is just because

¹ This illustration, which is a good one, helping to make the author's view more distinct and at the same time constituting a justifiable argument in favour of his view, because it shows by analogy that the process supposed can really occur, was used already in the Author's *Historical New Testament* (as I observe later).

Dr. Moffatt quotes such a portentous number of unsympathising and therefore incapable and unprofitable Baur and Manens, that I blame his book. Moreover, he in the comparison subtly suggests that in all these cases one great man judges another. In truth Manen or Baur on Paul is a mole attempting to estimate the size of a colossus or the strength of a lion, or the swiftness of an eagle.

Again on p. 204, in the extremely hypothetical sketch of the "fortunes of Q," we are told that "it suffered a sea-change, when it was employed by Matthew." Shakespeare is dragged in here, without any special appropriateness, unless Dr. Moffatt's intention is to suggest very delicately that Q is a thing "that doth fade." The writing here is smart, the veiled allusion to a familiar passage of *The Tempest* is clever and lights up the rather arid page, and I quote it as typical, as probably likely to please the reader and to carry on his interest in the book, and certainly not as a blemish, since it does not injuriously affect the train of reasoning, while it has literary quality.

In Dr. Moffatt's former book this kind of illustration by quotations from literature was much more sparingly used, and always, so far as I have observed, for the purpose of making his meaning clearer. The habit has grown upon him, however, until he has come to use his quotations sometimes almost as an ornament, and to let his judgment sometimes be influenced by a purely fanciful analogy which he has employed ; and I allude to this subject only for the sake of leading on from the good or the harmless examples to those which seem to me to be injurious.¹

¹ These literary and purely ornamental illustrations even obtain sometimes a place in the Index A of Subjects and References, where they take up space that might be usefully employed. It seems odd to find Shakespeare mentioned three times, Jane Austen once, Byron twice, and so on, in the Index, while Georgios Hamartolos does not occur in any of the Indices, though he is referred to in the text as an authority of consequence, in fact as the chief support of the Author's belief in the very early death of St. John, a critical point in his whole opinions.

It is not my intention to enumerate these examples of Dr. Moffatt's custom as if they were faults. They are mentioned as instances of the Author's character; and from them we may gather what is a tendency of his mind, and estimate his "personal equation." They are an interesting feature; and they are indicative of the literary rather than the historical temperament. That is what seems to me the fundamental truth. Our Author shows in a fashion extremely interesting to the student of human nature the course which the literary temperament may follow when it is allowed to run riot in historical investigation. It is in danger of essaying the problem in a misleading fashion. This I shall try to exemplify by taking some others of those ornate passages, in which the misleading influence that the habit may exercise is more conspicuous.

III. LITERATURE AND HISTORY : A DIFFERENCE OF METHOD.

On p. 8 Dr. Moffatt, in discussing "The Method of New Testament Introduction," illustrates the correct procedure for the historian in surveying the literature of a period by the following analogy. "In a note to the first chapter of *The Fair Maid of Perth*, discussing the magnificent view of the Tay valley which may be gained from the Wicks of Baiglie, Scott quotes what a local guide said, on reaching a bold projecting rock on Craig Vinean, 'Ah, sirs, this is the decisive point.' One of the first objects of the literary historian, in attempting the survey of any period, is to secure the decisive point from which he may command the lie of the country, and see it as fully as possible in its natural proportions. Such a vantage ground lies usually at some distance from the particular literature. That is one reason why the decisive point of elevation from which to scan the primitive Christian literature is to be found in the traditions which begin to rise by the second half of the second century."

I confess that I was aghast when I read these sentences.

It would be hard to find a falser way of looking at the historical problem, and yet it is so ingenious and plausible, that the unwary reader may for the moment be tempted on with it. There is no analogy, except a verbal one, between the contemplation of scenery from a high point, and the survey of a period in literature. In order to contemplate a scene, it is necessary to reach a point from which the eye can see it; hence one contemplates it best from a higher point at a little distance. In order to survey a literature, one gets into the most intimate sympathy with it. There is the most profound difference; and yet Dr. Moffatt cannot see the difference. He labours to emphasise the analogy by verbal touches. The "decisive point" for the Christian literature is where "the traditions begin to rise," just as the "decisive point" for that part of the Tay valley is where the "bold projecting rock on Craig Vivean rises"; but this is purely verbal trifling. If one is going to study the Elizabethan period of literature, one does not "secure the decisive point" in the period of Queen Anne or George I. One saturates oneself with the Elizabethan work, and grows into sympathy with it by close communion. The second half of the second century was a period quite as alien to the Apostolic period as that of A.D. 1702-1730 was to the Elizabethan period. One cannot ascend a "decisive point" in a later period. Nor can one judge the older period better, or survey it more comprehensively, or appreciate it more sympathetically, by attempting to place oneself amid a later and uncomprehending group of writers. The whole idea is a verbal conceit.

It is true that one often feels, in appraising the work of some contemporary author, that it is necessary to wait and to look back on him from some point in the future, before one can determine with confidence his rank in the literature of the world. One is too near him to judge rightly his comparative rank. But this is because one is afraid lest

familiarity may warp the judgment when the comparison is with writers from whom one is further removed ; and it gives no reason to think that in trying to understand and sympathise with the literature of a remote period one should look at it from " a vantage point " in a later and utterly uncomprehending time.

The truth is that Dr. Moffatt is trying to snatch some justification for his false historical method from any side ; and, to his literary way of judging, this very clever verbal analogy presented itself as a real analogy and a powerful argument. It is his method throughout this book to put himself among " the traditions which begin to rise by the second half of the second century," and to regard the New Testament as similar, and as most easily seen and understood through the analogy. He is everywhere trying to do what he plans out for himself in these sentences which have just been quoted, and the result is—this book, utterly unsympathetic, absolutely external, and wholly unappreciative of the finest side of the literature that it treats.

IV. THE FIRST AND THE LATE SECOND CENTURY.

An extreme example of Dr. Moffatt's want of sensitiveness to the real nature of the New Testament literature may be quoted from p. 315 f., where he speaks " of the perplexing differences between the Christian literature of the first and that of the second century. The latter reveals a series of striking personalities, while the New Testament literature, which is practically synonymous with the literature of the Church during the first century, has only one writer whose personality is well marked, i.e. the Apostle Paul. Luke, the historian, is known to us mainly from his writings, and these, from their very nature, are objective rather than subjective. The John of Asia Minor, whom we can detect behind the Johannine literature, must have been a commanding figure, but we cannot feel him breathe and move

as we can feel Paul. On the other hand, the second century and its literature reveal strong and versatile personalities from Ignatius to Irenaeus, from Polycarp to Tertullian, from Marcion and even Papias and Hegesippus to Justin, Tatian and Clement of Alexandria."

What do we know about the personality of Papias or Hegesippus or of their life? Nothing at all. What do we know of their works? Nothing but two or three fragments and a lot of riddles. They are not human beings to us. We know not one single action of their lives, and absolutely nothing about their character; and we can only speculate about the nature of their influence on contemporary society and even about the method and quality of their literary work. Yet these are the names which Dr. Moffatt transforms into personalities, and for whom he throws overboard Peter and James and John and Andrew and Philip and the rest.

V. THE PERSONALITY OF PAPIAS AND POLYCARP.

There are, I must confess, in the figure of Papias no riddles for Dr. Moffatt. Papias is his pet child. For Papias he has constructed out of his own fancy a character, and almost a personality, without any basis in ancient record, purely on the ground of his unhesitating penetration to the soul of those allusions which to most of us are riddles. He sees him, with Marcion and Hegesippus, stand forth as "strong and versatile personalities" in the brilliant light of the later second century, where we can only see them like shadows of "men as trees walking" in the dimness of that obscure period. It is just because Dr. Moffatt has pondered over that misty figure until he has re-invested Papias with his own conceptions of history that he loves and admires him so much. But that ought to be reserved for his own private meditations. The portrait of Papias ought to hang in his study, not to adorn his book. It belongs to himself, not to the world.

Polycarp is a gracious, attractive and even dignified figure, as we see him amid the darkling twilight ; but “ versatile ” is the least applicable epithet that could have been selected for him. We know him in his personality very well : he is a real human being for us : so far Dr. Moffatt is right. He enjoyed the unbounded veneration of the Asian Christians, and he deserved it. He was regarded by the pagans as “ the father of the Christians,” and as the most dangerous enemy of the old gods. But “ versatile ” ! Hear what Lightfoot, his devoted admirer, says of him. “ Polycarp’s mind was essentially unoriginative. It had, so far as we can discover, no creative power. His epistle is largely made up of quotations and imitations. . . . He himself never rises above mere commonplace. A steadfast stubborn adherence to the lessons of his youth and early manhood—an unrelaxing, unwavering hold of ‘ the word that was delivered to him from the beginning ’—this, so far as we can read the man from his own utterances or from the notices of others, was the characteristic of Polycarp.”¹ A noble and dignified figure in his life, a pathetic and still more dignified figure in his death. But what is he or any of the others in Dr. Moffatt’s list in comparison with John or Peter or even James, as they stand before us in the literature of the New Testament ?

Of course, when Dr. Moffatt has ejected most of the New Testament out of the realm of authenticity, then “ the literature of the New Testament ” becomes scanty and the period to which it belongs is left in mist. There remains, according to him, only Paul (who, however, loses Ephesians and 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus) ; and Paul, though considerably annotated and enlarged in parts, still throws, as Dr. Moffatt admits, a bright light on the period between 50 and 60 or 62 A.D. ; but after Paul the darkness sets in, and Luke and Mark fail to lighten it. Mark has been edited

¹ Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, i. p. 458.

until he is no longer recognisable ; Luke is far from thoroughly trustworthy ; and hence, I suppose, Dr. Moffatt fails to find any individuality or personality in Peter, who to us old-fashioned people is such a vivid, powerful, real and human figure. One who set any store by the testimony of Luke in the Acts and in the Gospel could never find Peter or John so faint and unsatisfying. But it is quite natural that Dr. Moffatt should emerge from his study of Ephesians, the Pastorals, the Catholic Epistles of James, Peter and John, the Revelation, and the Fourth Gospel, “ with a sense of baffled curiosity, which almost deepens into despair at some points.” He has smashed up to his own complete and undoubting satisfaction the greatest epoch of literature, and he finds that there remains in it only the lay figure of a man of the province Asia named John, “ whose breathing he cannot hear and whose motion he cannot see.”

But those men of the later second century ! they are Dr. Moffatt’s heroes. He knows them : he feels really interested in them : he finds none of the difficulties which we find in comprehending them. Take one example of the way that he handles the evidence about them.

W. M. RAMSAY.

(To be continued.)

THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.

THE day of atonement was celebrated on the 10th of Tishri and was one of the most impressive feasts of the Israelitic calendar, by reason of the severe earnest of its rites and the deep humiliation of Israelitic believers before their Creator. It is the only day on which fasting is obligatory during all the twenty-four hours of the day. On other fast days it was forbidden to eat or drink from sunrise until sunset, but on this day it was not allowed to eat or drink from sunset until sunset.

The regulations of the Law are found in Leviticus xvi. This chapter is generally assigned by critical scholars to the post-exilic period and is supposed to belong to the so-called Priestly Code. In other parts of the Pentateuch, that are not assigned to this Code, the day of atonement is not mentioned. Therefore it is supposed that this day does not belong to the old pre-exilic feasts, but is a later invention of the priests, in order to quicken the people's sense of sin. It is the keystone of the whole system, the last consequence of the principle, "Ye shall be [ceremonially] holy, for I am holy" (*Enc. Bibl.* i. 385).

According to the school of Wellhausen the exilic and post-exilic priests described sin chiefly as an offence against the ceremonial regulations of the Law. These regulations being very complicated it was necessary to open various ways for atoning for sins. Therefore, the sin offerings were classed with the offerings and sacrifices of the pre-exilic Law. Everybody, who was aware of his shortcomings, might atone for himself by a sacrifice. "The sin-offerings throughout the year, however, left many unknown or 'secret' sins. This was the reason for the institution of the Day of Atonement—that the Israelites might annually make a complete atonement for all sin, and that the sanctuary might be cleansed" (*ibid.*). This theory regards the Day of Atonement as the result of a development of religious thought, and therefore agrees with the evolutionistic tendencies of present historical research. But we cannot study the religious ideas connected with this day without discovering many facts, which show that this theory meets great difficulties, and is not satisfactory at all. It was the fault of higher criticism that it did not pay sufficient attention to the archaeological side of the question.

The Hebrew word for Day of Atonement is *Yom hakippurim*. This term not only means "day of atonement,"

but also "day of atonement-offerings." This name does not only refer to the sacrifices of the high-priest in the temple as mentioned in Leviticus xvi., but also to the many private sacrifices the Jews used to kill on this day. The Old Testament does not mention these private sacrifices, but the Rabbinical literature informs us about the custom of "beating Kapporeth," that is, of sacrificing a white cock. They used to swing it thrice round the head, proclaiming it to be an offering for atonement. Then they laid their right hand on the cock's head and killed it. Before sacrificing the cock a confession of sins was recited. For the religious life of the Jews these offerings were even more important than those that were sacrificed in the temple of Jerusalem, as only a very few of all the Jews in various lands could incidentally attend the service in the temple. If they could do so, it was perhaps only once in their lifetime, but the 10th of Tishri was to be observed every year, and the sins had to be atoned for.

According to the common belief, the 10th of Tishri is the last day of the "period of decision." The Hebrew New Year's Day is celebrated on the 1st of the seventh month Tishri. On this day God begins to consider the destiny of mankind in the coming year. The final decision is taken on the 10th of Tishri. Therefore, this day is of the utmost importance for the Israelite. If no atonement is made for his sins he can only expect to be struck by the wrath of the Lord in the year to come. The Jews used to make many vows. In all kind of circumstances a vow was supposed to be helpful. But not always the vows were fulfilled. Therefore they revoked on the eve of the Day of atonement all vows they might have made during the past year, without fulfilling them, in order not to begin the New Year burdened by the sin of unfulfilled vows. Until the present day the name of this eve is "Kol Nidre," that is " [the revoking of] all vows."

From this custom it is obvious that we cannot separate the day of atonement from the New Year's Day, both days being the beginning and the end of a holy period. On the 1st of Tishri "the books were opened." The Lord of Lords was surrounded by the holy angels, and decided about life and death of men. According to the Talmud (*Rosh hash-shena* 16 a. b.) there were three books. In the first book the names were written of all righteous men. In the second volume the names of the wicked men were written, who were all to die in the coming year. In the third volume the names were found of all those who were neither perfectly righteous nor perfectly bad. They had a chance until the 10th of Tishri. So it is easily understood that the period from 1st until 10th Tishri was devoted to fasting and self-humiliation, and that the last day of this period was the greatest fast-day of the whole year.

It is generally assumed that these ideas are of Babylonian origin, and it is supposed that they were borrowed by the exiles from the Babylonian religion. It is quite certain that the Babylonians too believed that the god Marduk held the tables of destiny and that the destiny of mankind was decided upon in the holy council that was held in the great temple of Babylon from 8th until 11th Nisan, the first month of the year. The various gods left their own shrines and went, in holy procession, to the council that was held in the chamber of destiny. But it is also certain that not only the Babylonians believed in the importance of the first days of the year for the destiny of mankind. Moreover, we find in the Israelitic literature of the pre-exilic period the same conception of the government of God as is supposed by the customs practised on the day of atonement.

In 1 Kings xxii. 19 we are told that [the prophet Micah saw the Lord sitting on His throne and all the host of heaven standing by Him on His right hand and on His left. He sent

out various spirits as his messengers and obviously is like a king, surrounded by his servants. The same conception we find in Isaiah vi. So there can be no doubt about the fact that the conception of God as found in the rabbinical literature is by no means post-exilic.

Furthermore, it is stated in Exodus xxxii. 32 (assigned by the school of Wellhausen to E) that the Lord writes down in a book the names of men. Moses says, "If thou wilt, forgive their sins; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written. And the Lord said unto Moses, Whosoever has sinned against me, him I will blot out of my book." Another pre-exilic text, mentioning this book in Isaiah iv. 3: "Every one that remains in Jerusalem shall be called holy, every one who is written down for life in Jerusalem." The same conception of the government of God we find in 1 Samuel xxv. 29, "The soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the Lord thy God"; and in Jeremiah xxii. 30, "Thus saith the Lord, Write ye this man childless, as man that shall not prosper in his days." From these texts it is obvious that Jahve is supposed to rule Israel by means of registers and books. In Ezekiel xiii. 9 the Lord says that "the false prophets shall not be written in the register of the house of Israel." So there is no reason for assuming that the reference to the Book of Life in Psalm lxix. 29, cxxxix. 16, is to be assigned to Babylonian influence.

The date of the day of atonement is the 10th of the seventh month (Tishri). This cannot be explained by the theory that the day of atonement originated in the theological system of the post-exilic priests. In the post-exilic period the year commenced in the spring, Nisan being the first month. We expect, therefore, that the date of the sacred days invented by the priests of this period will correspond to the post-exilic calendar, but instead of this we find the astonishing fact that New Year's Day and the day of atone-

ment are celebrated in the middle of the year. We can only understand this if we admit that the Israelitic New Year's Day was an old and popular feast, that could not be removed to Nisan, as this month became the first month of the year.

We do not know when the custom arose to begin the year at the equinox of the spring instead of at the equinox in the autumn. It is generally accepted that the change of the calendar dates from the Babylonian captivity. But it is highly probable that the Israelitic year began in the spring at least a century before the exile. In the book of Jeremiah all dates refer to a year beginning in the spring. In the Hebrew text of Jeremiah xxxvi. 22 the ninth month is a winter month, the king sitting then in the winter-house, a brasier burning before him. In the time of Zechariah Israelitic tradition knew that the temple at Jerusalem was destroyed in the fifth month. In old times the various months had special names. In the Book of Kings and Jeremiah and in the later calendar, however, the months are indicated by the ordinal numerals. The reference to the fifth month therefore implies that the year began in the spring. The only instances of old names of months are found in the narrative of the building of Solomon's temple and in some old laws (1 Kings vi. 1, 37, 38 ; viii. 2 ; Exod. xiii. 4 ; xxiii. 15 ; xxxiv. 18). They obviously belong to a remote period. It is easily understood that Deuteronomy used the old term "month Abib" in Deuteronomy xvi. as it pretended to date from the times of Moses. We have no certainty at all that the dates in the books of Kings and Jeremiah are post-exilic substitutes for other pre-exilic terms. It seems far more probable that the year commenced in the spring at the time of Jeremiah. The influence of Assyria was predominating over Western Asia since the ninth century B.C. The cult of the *seba haššamaim*

proves that Israel has felt this influence. Therefore it is quite possible that the beginning of the year was shifted to the spring season a long time before the exile. In any case there can be no doubt about the celebration of the New Year's Day in the pre-exilic period.

Obviously the way in which it is celebrated is a very old one. All over the world we find the custom of making noise on this day by yelling, ringing bells, etc. It is generally believed that the evil spirits are dangerous on this day. The gods are gathered in holy council for discussing the event of the coming year. Consequently there is a lack of control on this day and the evil spirits are ready to make use of this great opportunity. It is a common view that evil spirits may be frightened by noise of bells or other musical instruments and so we understand the Israelitic custom of blowing trumpets on the 1st of the seventh month. In Leviticus xxiii. 23 and Numbers xxix. 1 the day is said to be "a day of blowing of trumpets unto you," and we know from the rabbinical literature that every one used to blow trumpets on this day.

So the customs practised on this day show that New Year may be an old Israelitic feast. Notwithstanding this we do not find this day mentioned in the lists of feasts assigned by the Wellhausen school of critics to the pre-exilic period. Neither in Exodus xxiii. nor in Exodus xxxiv. nor in Deuteronomy is it mentioned.

This fact can be easily accounted for as Exodus xxxiii. and Deuteronomy xvi. enumerate the pilgrimage-festivals only, without mentioning other holy days, on which it was not obligatory "to appear before the Lord," as on Mazzoth, Pentecost and the feast of tabernacles. So, for instance, the new moon is not mentioned in Exodus xxiii. and Deuteronomy xvi. Nevertheless, it was a holy day according to numerous texts belonging to the pre-exilic literature (1 Sam. xx. 4;

2 Kings iv. 23 ; Amos viii. 5 ; Hos. ii. 13 ; Isaiah i. 13). This shows that we must be careful in reasoning from these lists to the post-exilic origin of those feasts that are not mentioned in them.

The name "New Year's Day" does not occur in the Pentateuch. In Leviticus xxiii. 23 and Numbers xxix. 1 the day is simply called "the 1st day of the seventh month." Nevertheless it must have been known as Rosh haššana (New Year) in the pre-exilic period, as Ezekiel xl. 1 uses this term. In this chapter the name of the first ten days appears to be "New Year," the hand of the Lord being upon Ezekiel in the Rosh haššana, on the tenth day of the month. The tenth day here is supposed to be included in the term Rosh haššana. In the Rabbinical literature the term Rosh haššana is also applied to the 1st day of the seventh month. It is to be noted that Ezekiel assumes that Rosh haššana has nothing to do with the beginning of the calendar-year, for the 1st day of the first month occurs Ezekiel xxix. 17 without any allusion to New Year.

From Ezekiel xl. 1 we understand that the day of atonement is mentioned in Leviticus xxiii. 26 ff. and Numbers xxix. 7 ff. directly after New Year's Day, these days being closely connected to one another. Until the present time there is great resemblance between the celebration of the two days in the Synagogue. On both days a trumpet is blown by an official, who is dressed in mourning dress, and no Hallel is to be sung, the Lord being supposed too busy with the books, and therefore not to be disturbed.

The ritual of the day of atonement, as found in Leviticus xvi., describes the day as a day of hallowing of the priests, the temple and the people. This is generally supposed to be the result of the theological opinions of the post-exilic priests, but as a matter of fact we find that in various religions the temples were hallowed once a year. Ezekiel made an

attempt to have the temple hallowed twice a year, on the 1st of the first month and on the 1st of the seventh month (Ezek. xlv. 18, 19, LXX). He would not have tried to introduce this novelty if no yearly hallowing of the temple was known. We understand his attempt if we assume that he wanted to apply the ceremonies of the old New Year also to the real beginning of the calendar-year in the spring-season. Therefore no serious objection can be made against the pre-exilic date of Leviticus xvi. 32-34, saying that the high priest shall make atonement once in the year for the temple and for the people.

It is also difficult to assume that the other parts of the ritual are post-exilic innovations. Leviticus xvi. 7 prescribes that Aaron shall take two goats and cast lots, one lot for the Lord and the other lot for Israel. The latter goat is burdened with the sins of the people and is supposed to carry them away into the desert in the same way as the bird in Leviticus xiv. 4 carried away the leprosy into the open field. This way of removing evil influences by no means agrees with the religious ideas of the post-exilic priests, these being monotheists in the strict sense of the word. Ceremonies like those, however, are very common in primitive religion and are to be classed with the various magical practices by which illness and evil were expelled by the old Semitic priests. These practices, however, were regarded by the post-exilic priests to be inconsistent with pure religion. Therefore we are compelled to assume that the sending away of the he-goat was a very old custom, that could not be done away with by the priests of Jahve. Azazel in any case is a demon of the desert, who has nothing to do with the pure cult of Jahve as is supposed to have been introduced by P.

Leviticus xvi. 12, 13 contain another instance of primitive religious thought. Aaron shall not enter into the holy place

before the ark without making a cloud of incense that covers the ark. "He shall take a censer full of coals of fire from the altar before the Lord . . . and he shall put the incense upon the fire, that the cloud of incense may cover the ark, that he die not." These last words "that he die not" explains why the cloud of incense must cover the ark. According to the old belief one cannot see God without dying (Judges vi. 23, xiii. 22; Gen. xxxii. 30; Exod. xxxiii. 20). The cloud is to protect Aaron and to prevent him from seeing God. This implies the personal presence of God in the holy place and is, therefore, inconsistent with the supposed transcendental conception of God, ascribed by the critics to P.

Furthermore, it is highly improbable that Leviticus xvi. 12, 13 should have been written in the post-exilic period. In these verses reference is made to the ark. The Kapporeth, mentioned in verses 2, 13, 14, 15, is, according to Exodus xxv. 17 ff., a golden plate covering the ark. Now scholars concur in assuming that the second temple of Zerubbabel did not contain the ark. The holy place then was empty. We fail to understand how the priests of the temple of Jahve could make and promulgate a law in which the temple was said to contain the ark of which everybody knew that it did not even exist.

An objection of the school of Wellhausen against the pre-exilic date of Leviticus xvi. is the theory that no sin and guilt-offerings existed in the pre-exilic period. The sacrifices of Leviticus xvi. are sin-offerings and are consequently assigned to the fifth or fourth century B.C. As I tried to show in the EXPOSITOR of October, 1910, p. 323, we learn from 2 Kings xii. 7 that they are by no means an invention of the post-exilic priests. In the same article I argued that Leviticus i. 5, where also is dealt with the sin- and guilt-offerings, must be assigned to the pre-exilic period. I refer

to this article for the arguments supporting the thesis that the fundamental idea of atoning for sins by offerings was by no means unknown in the pre-exilic Jahvistic religion.

A more serious objection against a pre-exilic day of atonement may be derived from Ezekiel and Nehemiah viii.

How is it that Ezekiel does not mention this day if it existed already before the exile ? The answer to this question is that the list of feasts in Ezekiel xlv. 9-25 does not prove anything for the date of the feasts not mentioned in it. For some reason unknown to us Ezekiel omitted in this chapter Pentecost. He deals with the duty of the prince in the various feasts, and mentions sabbaths, new moons, the first day of the first and of the seventh month, passover and the feast of tabernacles. Pentecost is not mentioned. Nevertheless it existed in the time before Ezekiel and was also celebrated after the Babylonian captivity. The only possible reason for this omission is that Ezekiel wished to drop this feast, perhaps for some heathenish customs connected with it. In the same way and for the same reason he may have omitted the day of atonement.

In Nehemiah viii. we find mentioned a joyous celebration on the first day of the seventh month, and a celebration of the feast of tabernacles on the fifteenth of that month, without any allusion to a day of atonement on the tenth day. But on the twenty-fourth day a general fast with confession of sins was held. On this ground scholars assume that the day of atonement was not yet known. But this conclusion is not justified, as Nehemiah viii. does not narrate about ordinary but about extraordinary circumstances. The promulgation of the law by Ezra was a new departure. The people wept and mourned on the first day after listening to the contents of the law, and it took several days before the law was read. We easily understand that in those circumstances the annual day of fasting and mourning was

postponed until the 24th. It may be that Ezra's law-book also intended to drop the day of atonement, and therefore did not mention it. We are not able to decide whether the day was postponed or whether it was not mentioned at all in the law promulgated by Ezra, as we do not possess the law-book he read before the people (see *EXPOSITOR* for October 1910, pp. 307-316). The general fast and confession of sins on the 24th shows in any case that the customs of the day of atonement were not unfamiliar to the Jews of this period. So neither Ezekiel nor Nehemiah viii. prove that the day of atonement was an innovation of the fourth century B.C.

If we study Leviticus xvi. not only from a critical but also from an archaeological point of view we are compelled to assume that the day of atonement originated in the old Israelitic belief that the Lord rules mankind and that He destines the fate of men according to His severe righteousness.

B. D. EERDMANS.

DR. LEPSIUS ON THE SYMBOLIC LANGUAGE OF THE REVELATION.¹

A. INTRODUCTION (*concluded*).

IN the second place, we must always keep in consideration the "astrological" views of the ancients. The heavens, as I have tried to show, following and simplifying Dr. Lepsius, were a book of Divine truth always open before them, and a guide and clock and calendar given by God to show them what was useful for them. This book and this calendar they had to learn by study to understand. The information was there; but teaching was needed before one could read what was written in the sky. Some familiarity with astronomical facts was far more necessary and far more

¹ On p. 466, l. 3 from bottom of text: for "December" read "October."

widely spread among the ancient peoples of the Mediterranean lands than it is at the present day among ourselves.

This interest in the reading of the sky influenced ancient thought just as deeply as the habit of using clocks and watches and the need for punctuality and exactness in respect of the lapse of time influence modern thought and expression. The author of the Fourth Gospel was habitually more exact in matters of time than the other Evangelists.¹ He watched the celestial clock more carefully, and noted the lapse of time more accurately. Similarly, we may well suppose that he was by nature inclined to study the heavens and to be interested in celestial phenomena. Certainly, the seer of the Revelation possessed that interest ; and in this respect his character resembles what we observe in the author of the Fourth Gospel. It has long seemed to me a necessary inference from the Gospel and the Revelation that the author was an educated Jew, and not, like many of the Apostles, merely an illiterate fisherman ; like Matthew he belonged to the educated middle class, which has to work, but works with method and knowledge, and he gives the impression of even higher education than Matthew ; but that is a wider subject.

It is to be noted that Dr. Lepsius has to modify, in several places, the order of the text in order to make his theory suit the book, or rather to make the book suit his theory ; and these proposed modifications have not as yet been supported by any demonstration that the meaning and the sequence of thought (apart from the theory of astronomical correspondence) are thereby improved. But no theory about any work of literature can ever win acceptance, while it depends on transpositions, until these transpositions are shown to be distinct improvements of the literary quality

¹ He makes more numerous and precise statements of time than they do, as any reader can easily satisfy himself. The facts are stated elsewhere.

of the book, and in fact to be necessary for its proper valuation. Perhaps this proof may follow, or perhaps Dr. Lepsius, as he has quite a good right to do, may remind us that he does not claim to be "able to interpret the Revelation of John," but only to be paving the way towards "reading it with more understanding than was possible before."¹ This claim on his part seems to me to have already been justified, but at the same time it concedes that his arguments are only tentative, and may assume a different aspect when they are regarded from a different point of view, which we shall reach in proceeding along the path that he himself has indicated.

The conclusion seems to be inevitable that the astronomical method, while it is (as I think) a useful servant, must not be taken as a master and director. That John on the lonely little island of Patmos was likely to have his eyes and mind constantly turned towards the sky, which was almost certainly the only book that a prisoner like him condemned to hard labour could study,² may, I think, be taken as practically certain on *a priori* grounds, and as proved by the general plan and tone of the Revelation, which, after all, is unquestionably a vision seen in the heavens.

It may also be regarded as quite certain that in this vision there was some plan. Further, owing to the character of ancient thought, custom and training, it was unavoidable that this plan should have to a certain extent an astrological character. But we cannot assume either that the seer was fully master of the astronomical conditions to which the vision is supposed to have conformed, or

¹ EXPOSITOR, February, pp. 166 and 167.

² The sea and its moods was a sealed book to him. He cherished the hatred of the ancients for it. It was the enemy that separated him from his churches. Out of the sea rose the great beast, the Roman power coming on ships. In the celestial world of truth and justice "there shall be no more sea."

that it is allowable to transpose his text in order simply to find more complete conformity to the conditions which the present theory imposes.

In the article that follows Dr. Lepsius makes a very attractive suggestion as to the Jubilee period in its astronomical relations, and as to the value of the period mentioned in xi. 3 as 1,260 days, viz., 42 months or three and a half years, and as to the identity of this period with Daniel's "time and two times and an half" (xii. 7, so also Rev. xii. 14).¹ But this reckoning as 1,260 days implies that the 42 months consist uniformly of thirty days, whereas the reckoning of the Jubilee period presupposes that the astronomical duration of the solar year is observed with remarkable accuracy (equal to that of the Gregorian system), so that the years are of 365 days with 12 intercalated days (i.e., twelve years of 366 days) in every 50 years.

Even on Dr. Lepsius's theory, therefore, St. John does not carry out in the Revelation an absolutely uniform astronomical system. One should not dream of refusing the seer that freedom which Dr. Lepsius here claims for him; but equally one fails to be persuaded that freedom to be inconsistent or imperfect astronomically, must be denied him in other parts of his vision. His three and a half years, or half week, differs in the number of days from Daniel's, for the older prophet gives the number as 1290 (xii. 11) and as 1335 (xii. 25). This implies some difference of view from that of John.

Again, in his treatment of the letters to the Seven Churches, Dr. Lepsius finds that astronomical or astrological order is disturbed by geographical conditions. Professor Duckworth, on the contrary, in his remarks printed in the *EXPOSITOR*, April, 1911, finds that astrological order is strictly observed. For my own part, I venture to regard

¹ So in Daniel vii. 25 "a time and two times and the dividing of time."

the application to the seven letters as the least convincing part of Dr. Lepsius's theory. The writer was in those letters speaking as the overseer and guardian and responsible adviser of the Churches which were entrusted to his care, and did not consciously do such an artificial thing as to apportion them to seven planet-angels. He had, however, his eyes fixed on the sky, and his mind was filled with that class of imagery, so that his expression was often, perhaps almost unconsciously, guided by astronomical forms; but his choice of topics and the sequence of his thought were dictated by the character and the needs of those Churches. That must be the ruling principle in the interpretation of the seven letters.

W. M. RAMSAY.

H. THE CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF THE APOCALYPSE.

THE chronological systems of the ancient world rest on an astrological foundation. If the visions of the Apocalypse are based on a chronological scheme, we may suppose, to begin with, that this scheme is astrologically arranged. The visions of the seals, the trumpets, and the vials of wrath obviously comprehend a space of time which runs its course in distinct periods. This time cannot extend over great epochs of hundreds or thousands of years, for the future events which unroll themselves before the seer are held together by the idea that they, as forerunners of the judgement, as the natal pangs of a new æon, announce the end of the present and the beginning of the future age of the world. The events themselves which are described take place in close connexion, and give the impression that they are experienced by one generation. The judgements of the seal and trumpet visions follow one another with increasing energy and greater speed, until the successive catastrophes of the last plagues end with the judgement day of the great

battle of the nations. Thus the long period of the millenium, which is to follow the great day of battle, does not give us reason to conclude that great cosmic periods of time are dealt with in the visions of the seals, the trumpets, and the vials of wrath.

The construction of the whole necessitates the assumption that the book with seven seals contains the whole purpose of God with regard to the last days. Therefore the seven trumpets and the seven plagues must somehow be comprehended in the seven seals. As the seals, like the trumpets and the plagues, lead up to the same final event, viz., the battle in which the Antichrist with his army is defeated, and as the increasing severity of the judgements forbids us to assume that the visions run parallel to one another, the order of the thrice seven visions can hardly be otherwise understood than that in each case the last of the seven includes the following seven, so that the seven trumpets are an analysis of the seventh seal and the seven plagues an analysis of the seventh trumpet.

The order of the visions is interrupted by sections which serve the purpose of interpretation. The interpretation is put into the mouth of an angel in each case. The choice of the *angelus interpretes* (interpreting angel) may furnish a clue to the connexion between interpretation and visions. Thus the description of the vision of Babylon, xvii. 1, is put into the mouth of one of the seven angels who have the last plagues (xv. 6). The *angelus interpretes* of the trumpet visions is, as we can see from x. 5-7, the sun-angel described in x. 1, 2. The same angel too holds the little book in his hand (x. 8), from which we may conclude that the series of visions which are described in the little book (chap. xi. ff.) belong to the time of the seven trumpets. In the visions of the little book there is mentioned repeatedly a fixed period of time which is attested elsewhere in Scripture as

the last historical epoch. It is a period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years = 42 months = 1,260 days. This period is mentioned also in the Epistle of James v. 17, as the time during which, in the days of Elijah, the heavens kept back their rain. Similarly, in the book of Daniel the last time is fixed as $3\frac{1}{2}$ years = 1,290 or 1,335 days (Dan. xii. 7, 11, 12; comp. vii. 25). This epoch, which in Daniel xii. 7, in accordance with Revelation xii. 14, is divided into "a time, two times, and half a time," is, as we shall see later, to be understood as equalising epoch between different cyclical periods, which are connected with the phœnix era.

From Daniel ix. 27 it appears that this epoch of three and a half years is to be regarded as the half of a prophetic week or a Schmittah-period (cycle of seven years). Thus we have to do with a chronological system which advances in cycles of seven years. This is also the case with the Mosaic jubilee period of $7 \times 7 + 1 = 50$ years. The equalising period of $2 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ years thus appears to belong to the same chronological system as the jubilee period.

If, as we assume, the visions of the little book coincide with the period of the seven trumpets, the conclusion is suggested that this period of time also is to be reckoned as $2 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$, i.e. 7 years, so that every trumpet announces the beginning of a new year. Then the trumpets would have to be regarded as new year's trumpets (comp. Third Book of Moses xxiii. 24). The fiftieth year of the jubilee period, too, was introduced by trumpet blasts.

We assumed that in the chronological system of the writer of the Apocalypse the seven trumpet years coincide with the time of the seventh seal. Thus every seal would cover a period of seven years, and the seven seals together a period of $7 \times 7 = 49$ years, or a jubilee period. Chronologists are of different opinions as to the duration of the jubilee period. Some reckon it as $7 \times 7 = 49$ years, others

as $7 \times 7 + 1 = 50$ years; some regard the forty-ninth, others the fiftieth year as the jubilee year. The latter have the tenor of the law (Third Book of Moses xxv. 10, 11) on their side. The chronological system of the Apocalypse likewise, if the jubilee period is its basis, seems to speak for a cycle of fifty years, as we shall convince ourselves on closer calculation.

To obtain a chronological basis for the seal and trumpet years, we must look for yet another starting-point.

The astrological interpretation of the symbolic pictures of the seal-visions shows that every seal-period is marked by a planet. Whence arises this planetary designation of chronological periods?

The astrological system which underlies the designation of our weekdays is founded, as was already known to Dio Cassius,¹ on the association of the planets with the hours of the day. The planet which rules the first hour of the day rules the whole day. As every day has its governing planet, so also every month and every year. The ruling planet of any day, month, year, or cycle of years is always the planet which rules its first hour. If the year is reckoned as containing 365 days, it follows that the last or 365th day of the year ($52 \times 7 + 1$) must fall on the same weekday as the first day of the year. Consequently the series of planets moves forward by one with every New Year's day. If the first day of a year was a Monday, the first day of the second year is a Tuesday, of the third a Wednesday, of the fourth a Thursday, and so on; and correspondingly the first year is ruled by the Moon, the second by Mars, the third by Mercury, the fourth by Jupiter, etc. Thus the year planets of seven successive years correspond to the planets of their first day. So we may designate the years astrologically as Moon-year, Mars-year, Mercury-year, Jupiter-year, Venus-

¹ See EXPOSITOR, February, 1911, p. 173.

year, Saturn-year, and Sun-year, if we name them after the planet which rules the first hour of the year. At the expiration of a period of seven years the same series of planets would repeat itself in the same way during the second period of seven years, unless an intercalation should take place. Then, of course, it would not be possible to designate the prophetic weeks (Schmittah periods of seven years) in the same way as the days, months and years. But we may begin by taking for granted that some kind of regular intercalation took place. A chronological period like the jubilee period may certainly be supposed to form an intercalary system, for all chronological periods have arisen from the practical needs of civic life. The circumstance that the designation of the seal years follows the order of the week-day planets may be simply and ingeniously explained by an intercalary system which may be gathered from this designation itself.

We had concluded that every seal embraces a period of seven years, i.e. the seventh part of a jubilee period. In this the first seal comprehends the first to the seventh year of the jubilee period, the second seal the eighth to the fourteenth, the third seal the fifteenth to the twenty-first, and so on. Now in the seal visions the successive periods of seven years are designated by the names of the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, as being the planets which rule them. This is chronologically possible only if a day is added to each seventh year, so that it has 366 days instead of 365. Thus, in the six seal periods of seven years each, that is, in forty-two years, there would be six intercalary days. Since a half century, or jubilee period, has twelve intercalary days, six more days would have to be added to the last period of seven years in order to make the civil year of 365 days correspond to the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, so that the last six years of the jubilee period would require

to have each 366 instead of 365 days. This conclusion appears to me to find confirmation in the chronological system of the Apocalypse.

If the seven trumpets are included in the last seal, then, according to the astrological system on which the whole is based, the trumpet years also would have to be called by the names of the planets ruling each of them. Therefore, if each of the trumpet years has 365 days, the planets of these years would again have to correspond to the order of the weekday planets. It is remarkable that this is not the case. We have already drawn attention to the fact that the planet order both of the trumpet visions and of the vial visions follows the horary order of the planets, and not the order of weekdays.¹ In the case of the trumpets and the vials (plagues) the sun does not appear, as in the case of the seals, in the seventh place, but in the fourth ; hence arises for the seven trumpets (or plagues) the following planetary order : Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. That is the horary order. Now if we must, in accordance with the underlying astrological system, assume that the trumpet years,¹ like the seal periods, are named after the planets which rule their first hours, then it must of necessity follow that each of the trumpet years must be credited with 366 days instead of 365, in order that a Moon-year may be followed by a Mercury-year, a Mercury-year by a Venus-year, a Venus-year by a Sun-year, etc. If the last year which closes the jubilee period was again a year of 365 days, then the last period of seven years contained six intercalary days, which, when added to the other six intercalary days, give the necessary number of twelve days. There is some probability that the fiftieth year of the jubilee period was again an ordinary year of 365 days, for only in this case would it be possible to avoid beginning the next jubilee

¹ See above, p. 174.

period with the same planet as the one which has just been completed. If we carry the chronological system still farther, the jubilee periods also could be named after the planet under which each one begins.

A further conclusion for the jubilee period itself may be drawn from the chronological system of the Apocalypse and the planetary designation of the seven trumpet years. If we begin the jubilee period with a Moon-year, then its eighth year is a Mars-year, the fifteenth a Mercury-year, the twenty-second a Jupiter-year, the twenty-ninth a Venus-year, the thirty-sixth a Saturn-year, and the forty-third a Sun-year. If the trumpet period embraced the forty-third to the forty-ninth years, it would have to begin with a Sun-year. But this is not the case. The planet of the first trumpet year is not the sun, but the moon. But the moon only falls in the forty-fourth year, and it appears contrary to what we should expect that the trumpet years must be reckoned not from the forty-third to the forty-ninth, but from the forty-fourth to the fiftieth year, according to the tenor of the jubilee law which assigns to the jubilee period not forty-nine but fifty years. Thus the seventh seal embraces a period of eight years, the first year of which, the forty-third, is ruled by the sun. It is the moment when, in chapter x. 1, the Sun-angel descends from the heaven and the seven thunders sound. With the second, a Moon-year, the seven trumpet years begin. The last of the seven trumpet years is also the last year of the jubilee period (comp. Rev. x. 7). The forty-third year, as it interrupts the course of the prophetic weeks, is specially marked out, likewise the fiftieth year. As the seven thunders are allotted to the forty-third year, so the seven plagues are assigned to the fiftieth year.

Our interpretation of the apocalyptic system of the seal and trumpet visions, which arises out of the naming of the

seal and trumpet years by the planets which govern them, has unexpectedly brought us to regard the jubilee period as a system of intercalation. This system is based on the number seven, and gives a remarkably simple and exact intercalary method of reckoning. The Mosaic jubilee period, regarded as a system of intercalation, excels the Julian calendar in exactitude, and already anticipates the Gregorian calendar. Two jubilee periods, covering together a hundred years, contain, according to this system, not twenty-five intercalary days like the Julian calendar, but twenty-four intercalary days like the Gregorian calendar.

We shall endeavour later to prove the assumption that the Mosaic jubilee period of fifty years is connected with the Egyptian Phoenix period of 500 and 1,000 years. The period of the millennium would thus be drawn into the same chronological system.

I. THE TRUMPET VISIONS.

According to our interpretation of the construction of the Apocalypse, the period of the seven trumpets coincides, as we have already said, with the time of the seventh seal. The seventh seal being assigned to the sun, it follows that the Sun-angel is the *angelus interpretes* of the seven trumpets. In the present order of the text, the three sections in which the Sun-angel is introduced as *angelus interpretes* are contracted and placed after the six trumpets. The section of the seventh trumpet with the final verse of the sixth is cut out and placed amongst the visions of the little book. The section x. 5-7, which from the character of the facts must come immediately before or after the seventh trumpet, shows clearly that the Sun-angel introduced in x. 1-4 is the interpreting angel for the trumpet visions. Therefore section x. 1-4 belongs to the beginning of the trumpet visions. The same Sun-angel is also *angelus interpretes* for the little book in x. 8-11.

As regards section vii. 1-17, a doubt might be felt whether it had not its place originally between the fourth and fifth trumpets, for the sealing which is spoken of in this intermezzo only becomes significant under the fifth trumpet. But the analogy of Ezekiel ix. tells in favour of placing the sealing by the scribe-angel before the judgments of the seven trumpet-angels.

The angel in vii. 2, who undertakes the sealing of the servants of God, is the scribe-angel of Ezekiel ix. 1-4. He is the angel of the planet Mercury, the archangel Michael, who corresponds to the Babylonian scribe-god Nebo and the Egyptian Thoth. As appears from Ezekiel ix. 1, this scribe-angel is one of the seven "that have charge over the city"; and these seven angels are in all cases the angels of the seven planets or the archangels, the "angels which stand before God." The four angels (vii. 1) who stand at the four corners of the earth, may best be understood as the four cherub-angels (who introduce the first four seals). The command to spare earth, sea and trees, until "the sealing of the servants of God on their foreheads" is accomplished, refers to the judgements of the trumpet-angels in chapter viii. 1 ff.

It is remarkable that among the names of the twelve tribes of Israel (vii. 5-8) that of Dan is missing. It is idle to seek a reason for this. As Manasseh is named as well as Joseph, which is improbable—for Ephraim would have to be mentioned along with Manasseh—there is probably a textual error here. The first half of the name Manasseh, "Man," has been misread for "Dan," the second half, "asse," is possibly a misplaced dittography of Asher.

The marking of the twelve times twelve thousand from all the tribes of Israel may be most simply understood as the saving of "all Israel" (comp. Rom. ii. 25). Israel is to be spared in the last judgment because of its repentance.

Beside the people of Israel appears the innumerable multitude which was won out of all nations, an obvious symbol of the Gentile Church.

The visions of the seven trumpets and the seven plagues correspond to the seven planets and the cosmic points in the following fashion :—

Moon .	Land	Lion . . .	Vernal equinox.
Mercury ⁸	Sea	Ox . . .	Summer solstice
Venus .	Rivers and springs	Water-carrier	Autumnal equinox.
Sun .	Sun, moon and stars	Eagle . . .	Winter solstice.
Mars ⁸ .	Abyss	Under altar .	South pole.
Jupiter	The great river Euphrates	Upper altar .	North pole.
Saturn.	Air	Centre of world or universe.	

The judgement of the seventh trumpet is not described, as its contents are explained in the seven plagues.

We still lack sufficient understanding of astrological symbolism for an explanation in detail of the trumpets and plagues. But the following remarks may help to guide us. The “eagle” is again in the fourth place, as in the case of the seals. The “golden altar” appears in the sixth place, i.e. the north pole. In the ancient cosmology the place of the throne of God is the north pole. From under the throne of God springs the celestial river of life, the milky way, which is called the Euphrates of heaven in Babylonian astrology. It is probably this celestial river that we must think of when the “great river Euphrates” is mentioned. Just as, at the fifth trumpet, infernal hosts issue from the bottomless pit (the south pole), so correspondingly we must understand by the hosts of riders of the sixth trumpet the army of stars of the milky way, i.e. the fixed stars which are associated with the great Euphrates or the milky way. The colours of the breastplates, red (fire), yellow (sulphur), dark blue (smoke), correspond again to the symbolic colours of the planets, Mars (red), Jupiter (yellow), Mercury (dark blue).

On the other hand the riders on white horses (xix. 14) are characterised by the colour of Venus (white). The planets were also supposed to be the leaders of the celestial hosts of the army of fixed stars.

After the trumpet-judgements are ended, the *angelus interpretes* again speaks, to give assurance that the judgments are to reach an end with the seventh trumpet.

The following table shows how the astrological scheme of the Apocalypse may be derived from a chronological scheme.

THE JUBILEE PERIOD OF THE APOCALYPSE.

1. Seal Lion Vernal equinox	1. Moon-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 days	} prophetic week of the moon. Rider on white horse.
	2. Mars-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	3. Mercury-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	4. Jupiter-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	5. Venus-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	6. Saturn-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	7. Sun-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$ interc. day	=366 "	
2. Seal Ox Summer solstice	8. Mars-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 days	} prophetic week of Mars. Rider on red horse.
	9. Mercury-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	10. Jupiter-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	11. Venus-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	12. Saturn-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	13. Sun-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	14. Moon-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$ interc. day	=366 "	
3. Seal Water- carrier Autumnal equinox	15. Mercury-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 days	} prophetic week of Mercury. Rider on black horse.
	16. Jupiter-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	17. Venus-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	18. Saturn-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	19. Sun-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	20. Moon-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	21. Mars-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$ interc. day	=366 "	
4. Seal Eagle winter solstice	22. Jupiter-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 days	} prophetic week of Jupiter. Rider on yellow horse.
	23. Venus-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	24. Saturn-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	25. Sun-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	26. Moon-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	27. Mars-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	28. Mercury yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$ interc. day	=366 "	
5. Seal Altar of burnt offerings south pole	29. Venus-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 days	} prophetic week of Venus. Hades. Martyrs under the altar.
	30. Saturn-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	31. Sun-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	32. Moon-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	33. Mars-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	34. Mercury-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	35. Jupiter-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$ interc. day	=366 "	

6. Seal	36. Saturn-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 days	} prophetic week of Saturn. Rest of the souls, prayers of the saints.
	37. Sun-year	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
Altar of	38. Moon-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
incense	39. Mars-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
north	40. Mercury-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
pole	41. Jupiter-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
	42. Venus-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$	interc. day = 366 "	
7. Seal	43. Sun-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 days	} prophetic week of the Sun. Earth, Sea, Streams Sun, Abyss, Euphrates, Air.
1. Trumpet	44. Moon-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$	interc. day = 366 "	
2. Trumpet	45. Mercury-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$	" = 366]	
3. Trumpet	46. Venus-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$	" = 366 "	
4. Trumpet	47. Sun-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$	" = 366 "	
5. Trumpet	48. Mars-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$	" = 366 "	
6. Trumpet	49. Jupiter-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1 + 1$	" = 366 "	
7. Trumpet	50. Saturn-yr.	$52 \times 7 + 1$	=365 "	
$50 \times 365 + 12$ intercalary days = 18,262 days				

JOHANNES LEPSIUS.

Helena Ramsay, transl.

THE ODES AND PHILO.

(III.) The Mysticism of Philo is found, in his writings, under three expressions: 1. The Ascent of the soul; 2. The Vision of God; and 3 the state of Ecstasy; and we wish now to show how closely the Odist agrees with Philo, not only in similarity of conception, but also of expression.

1. *The Ascent of the Soul.* In summarising Philo's teaching on this subject, Windisch calls attention to two kindred modes of expression: (a) The celestial journey of the soul (*die Himmelreise der Seele*); according to which it is not God who comes down to dwell in the house prepared for Him in the human breast, but it is the soul which soars up from the ends of the earth to the distant God. (b) The Ascent of the soul (*der Aufstieg der Seele*); under which phrase Philo pictures how the soul of him who loves God in truth springs up from earth heavenward, and soaring beyond the stars, moves on in eager desire to associate with the holy choir.¹

¹ *Die Frömmigkeit Philos*, 14.

We have certainly the same figures of speech in the Odes :—

35 ⁸ I stretched out my hands in the Ascent of my soul,
And urged myself towards the Most High.

42 ¹ I stretched out my hands and drew near unto the Lord.

28 ⁶ I placed myself in His indestructible wings.

36 ¹ I took my rest on the spirit of the Lord,
And she raised me up to the Height.

With these passages compare the following quotations from Philo :—“Turning away utterly from base things and those which lead to mortal paths, the mind soars aloft and engages in contemplations on the world and its component parts: then *mounting* (ἐπανάιων) still higher, it investigates God and His Nature, through an unspeakable love of knowledge, being unable to remain satisfied with doctrines which are elementary.” ¹ “It is impossible for any one to conceive the attraction (ὀλκὴν) of the mind towards Deity, except those who have been drawn towards Him. What each one feels, he individually knows. If eyes composed of flesh can go out so far as to survey the whole heaven, how great a course in every direction must we ascribe to the eyes of the soul, which, endowed with *wings*, with excessive desire to gaze on God, *stretches itself* (τείνεται) not only to the highest ether, but passing beyond the boundaries of the whole universe, *urges itself* (ἐπείγεται) towards the Uncreated One?” ² “The mind is accustomed to leave this life (βίον), when it becomes divinely borne along towards the Deity Himself, and gazes on incorporeal ideas (ἰδέας).” ³ “The noëtic world, it is impossible to know, except by a migration from this perceptible and visible world.” ⁴ In one passage Philo explains what he means by the metaphor of “stretching out the

¹ *Leg. alleg.* iii. 27.

² *De ebrietate*, 25.

² *De plantatione*, 5.

⁴ *De somniis*, i. 32.

hands" in a way that, we shall see, finds frequent expression in the Odes. This is the passage: "It is impossible to seize and conquer pleasure, unless the *hand* is previously *stretched out*; that is, unless the soul confesses all its activities and progress to be from God, and attributes nothing to itself;" ¹ and again, "He who *stretches* the energies of the soul towards God, hoping for benefits from Him alone, may very rightly say (to all besides), "I will receive nothing of thine." ²

There are several very interesting *details* in which the Odes and Philo agree, in describing the Ascent of the soul.

- (a) 15 ² Because He is my *sun*, His *rays* have raised me up,
And His light has removed all darkness from my face.
21 ¹ My arms have I lifted up to the Most High,
Even to the grace of the Lord,
(b) Because He hath cast off my *bonds* from me.
(c) 21 ⁵ I was lifted up in His *Light* and saved before His face.
(d) 18 ¹ My heart was lifted up by the *Love* of the Most High.

We will now adduce some Philonic parallels:—

(a) "When the soul is prolific and is *raised* unto the height, it is *illuminated* by the archetypal and incorporeal rays (*ἁκτῖσι*) of the rational fountain of the all-perfecting God." ³ "As when the sun rises, darkness vanishes and all things are filled with light, so when God, the noëtic *sun*, arises and illuminates the soul, the whole darkness of passions and vices is dissipated, and the most bright and sacred form (*εἶδος*) of the most brilliant virtues appears." ⁴

(b) "What does it mean: 'I will pour out my soul unto the Lord,' but, 'I will consecrate my soul entirely'? Having loosed all the *bonds* with which formerly it was bound, which all the empty cares of this mortal life had wound round it, and having brought it forth outside, and

¹ *Leg. alleg.* ii. 23.

² *De ebrietate*, 27.

³ *De somniis*, i. 19.

⁴ *De humanitate*, 22.

stretched it and diffused it so that it touches the very boundaries of the Universe, it *urges* itself onwards to the glorious and beautiful *vision* of the Uncreated One.”¹

(c) “The soul is filled with another yearning and a better longing, by which it is conducted to the highest apex of things known only by intellect, till it seems to go before the great King Himself. While it is keenly desirous to see Him, rays of condensed *light*, pure and unmingled, are poured on the soul, like a torrent, so as to bewilder the vision of the understanding with their splendour.”²

(d) “The soul of him who *loves* God, eager for truth, leaps from earth upwards towards heaven, and being endowed with wings, soars aloft, being eager to move in concert with the sun and moon and the most sacred and all-harmonious host of other stars, God Himself being taxiarch and leader.”³ “When the mind, inspired by divine *love*, *stretches* itself towards the adyta, it *draws near* (42¹), using all its energy; and being divinely borne along (θεοφορούμενος) it forgets other things, forgets even itself, and *clings* to God only (3²) . . . to whom it offers-as-incense the sacred and impalpable virtues.”⁴

2. *The Vision of God.* Philo repeats over and over again a threefold distinction among virtuous people, which he considers to be typified by the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.⁵ Abraham is a type of those who acquire virtue by constant instruction. Jacob represents those who practise self-discipline and self-mastery; until there occurs some crisis in their life, after which they have an immediate intuition of God, and in consequence make much more rapid progress in moral excellences. Isaac is one of the rare race of men who are spared the severe

¹ *De ebrietate*, 37.

² *De opif. mundi*, 23.

³ *De Victimis*, 6.

⁴ *De somniis*, ii. 34.

⁵ *De ebrietate*, 20; *De somniis*, i. 27; *Erud. gratia*, 7.

conflicts of life, and who, as Philo believed, are self-instructed (*αὐτοδιδάκτοι*) in the moral virtues, and enjoy continually a blessed intuition of God. "The self-instructed class, of which Isaac was a member, shares a nature, simple, unmixed, and unalloyed, needing neither instruction nor endeavour (*ἄσκησις*) . . . for when God has showered down from above the good which is self-learned and self-taught, such men have no need of other things." ¹ In speaking of Jacob, Philo says that he "was desirous of giving his ears in exchange for *eyes*; so as to see what he formerly heard:" ² and again, "when the sudden *brilliance* of self-taught wisdom shines on those who had not seen it before, nor were expecting it, *opening* the previously blind *eye* of the soul, it makes men *seers* of knowledge instead of being hearers of it." ³ It can hardly be denied that there is an allusion to these two last quotations, in the words of the Odes:—

15 ³ I have *acquired eyes* through Him.

7 ²¹ The *seers* shall go before Him and appear before Him.

40 ⁶ My soul is *illuminated* in Him.

3. *Ecstasy*. This receives very frequent mention from Philo, and Bousset has collected twenty synonyms which he employs to describe this condition.⁴ The passages which find parallels in the Odes are these:—"The mind, being raised on wings . . . following Love which is the guide of Wisdom, surmounting all sensuous existence, then aspires after the noëtic, and gazes on the models (*παραδείγματα*) and ideas of sensuous things, all of surpassing beauty, till it is possessed with *sober intoxication* (*μέθῃ νηφαλίῳ*), as the corybantes are with enthusiasm, and longs . . . to go before the great King Himself." ⁵ And

¹ *Erud. gratia*, 7. ² *De migratione Abr.* 8. ³ *Sacr. Abel.* 22.

⁴ *Die Religion des Judentums*, 424 (1st edition).

⁵ *De opif. mundi*, 23.

again, "The self-taught man is not improved by practice and toil, but from the outset found Wisdom prepared for him, showered from above from heaven, of which he feasts, drawing an undiluted draught, and continues being intoxicated with *sober intoxication* and with correctness of reason."¹ In like manner the Odist says:—

11⁷ I drank and was intoxicated,
From the living, undying water;
And my intoxication was *not without knowledge*.

IV. Now we turn to the *Soteriology* of the Odes and of Philo; and we are interested to find how emphatically they both extol the riches of the goodness of God's grace. Both agree as to man's utter need of a Saviour to cleanse him from sin, and also that man is quite unable to save himself. They never swerve from the fixed conviction that God takes the initiative in man's salvation, and usually affirm that God is all and man is nothing; though occasionally they admit that man to some extent co-operates with the Divine. In the life of every godly man² there has come a change, more or less sudden, and due absolutely to the grace of God, and the process of moral betterment or sanctification takes place by complete self-surrender and submissiveness to the power and holy influence of God.

1. Let us first examine what our authors have to say as to the *Grace* of God. These passages are from the Odes:—

34⁶ Grace has been manifested for your salvation.

9⁵ Be ye strengthened and redeemed by His grace.

4¹² Whatever Thou hast given, Thou hast given it of grace.

5³ Freely have I received Thy grace: I live in Thee.

23² Grace belongs to the Elect.

31⁶ Inherit your souls by means of His grace.

Will some one say: "But surely the Odist is here depen-

¹ *De fuga*, 30. Also *Leg. alleg.* i. 26.

² The race of Isaac is so rare as usually to be ignored.

dent on the Apostle Paul" ? This is by no means necessary. Listen to Philo :—"The righteous man, seeking the nature of things, makes this one most excellent discovery : Everything is due to the grace of God." ¹ "What kind of person must he be, who would be judged *worthy* of His *grace* ? I think the whole world put together would scarcely attain to this." "Though judging nothing to be worthy of grace, he has, *without grudging*, given all good things, having regard solely to His own eternal goodness, and thinking it the characteristic of his own blessed and happy nature to confer benefits." ² "You see that the soul is nourished, not on earthly and corruptible food, but on words which God showers from His sublime and pure nature, which is called Heaven. We cannot exhaust the abundant *wealth* of the *graces* of God : it will overflow like the rush of a winter-torrent." ³ "God is not a vendor, lowering the price of His goods ; but a benevolent giver of all, pouring out the inexhaustible fountains of His *grace*, never desiring any return." ⁴ "Without *grace* it is impossible to forsake mortal things, and to abide always in the immortal. Whatever soul is filled with *grace* is at once joyous, mirthful and exultant." ⁵

2. As to man's *need* of a mightier power than his own to save him, let us first listen to Philo : "If God were to decide to judge the mortal race without mercy, He would pass a condemnatory sentence : for there never has been a man, who has, of himself, run the whole course of life without stumbling. God mingles mercy with His judgments. Mercy is older than justice." ⁶ "Do we not know some persons who have lived from childhood to age without experiencing any moral disturbance . . . and yet, at the

¹ *Leg. alleg.* iii. 24.

² *Deus immut.* 23.

³ *Leg. alleg.* iii. 56.

⁴ *De cherubim.* 34.

⁵ *De ebrietate*, 36.

⁶ *Deus immut.* 16.

very sunset of life, have run ashore and suffered shipwreck, either through an unguarded tongue, or unbridled appetite, or incontinent lewdness of the flesh? Therefore we ought to implore and constantly beseech God that He would not pass by our perishable race, but will command His saving mercy (τὸν σωτήριον ἔλεον) to be everlasting towards us.”¹ Such men “do not consider themselves competent, without divine assistance, to wash and cleanse a life full of stains.”² Is it not a member of the same school who sings—

26⁹ Who can train himself for God, that his soul may be redeemed?

5² O Most High, leave me not, for Thou art my hope!

5⁹ Because the Lord is my Redeemer, I will not fear.

6¹⁶ The waters gave strength to their feebleness, and light to their eyes.

4⁷ One hour of faith in Thee is better than all days and hours.

3. The fact that God takes the *initiative* in human salvation is expressed with great clearness and beauty by the Odists.

3³ I had not known how to love the Lord, if He had not loved me.

6⁶ The Lord hath multiplied the knowledge of Himself,

And He is zealous that this should be known,

Which of His grace He hath given to us.

A passage very similar to 3³ occurs in Philo:—“How could the soul have perceived God, if He had not inspired it and touched it according to its capacity? For the human mind would not have dared to soar so high as to lay hold (ἀντιλαβέσθαι) of the nature of God, if God had not drawn it up towards Himself, so far as a human mind is able to be drawn up.”³ A parallel to 6⁵ is to be found in *De Fuga* 30: “In reality it is God who gently rains down ethereal wisdom from above on minds well-disposed and capable of vision.”

¹ *De somniis*, ii. 21.

² *Ibid.* ii. 4.

³ *Leg. alleg.* i. 13.

4. But the doctrine which seems to me to be Philo's greatest favourite—the one which seems to move his soul most deeply, and to which he is most intolerant of opposition, is that of the *sole causality* of God. God is to him so absolutely all in all, that he is too jealous for God's honour to admit even of man's co-operation: while for any one to claim as his, what really belongs to God, evokes terrible wrath and scorn. For Esau to say “*My birth-right and my blessing*” showed, we are told, “a low and slavish mind.”¹ When Alexander the Great said, “All things are *mine*, on this side and on that,” he “displayed a soul truly childish and foolish.”² Eve committed a great error when she said, “I have gotten a man by means of God (*διὰ Θεοῦ*),” because God is not an instrument, but the Cause.³ She learned wisdom later, when she said, “*God* hath raised up for me another son instead of Abel.”⁴ Rachel also erred seriously, when she said to Jacob, “Give me children or I die.” She recanted later, when she said, “May *God* grant me another son.”⁵

As Philo's doctrinal expressions of Divine Causality we may quote the following:—“The great vow is to believe that God is the cause of all good things, no one else co-operating to render assistance: neither the earth as being fertile, nor the rains as causing seeds and plants to grow, nor air as calculated to nourish . . . for all these *receive* changes and alterations through the power of God.”⁶ “As regards food from the earth, men engaged in agriculture co-operate to produce it: but as regards food from Heaven, God, the only one who works alone (*ὁ μόνος αὐτουργός*), rains it down without co-operation (*χωρὶς συμπράξεως*).”⁷ “Every one who is not conceited will confess that God

¹ *Leg. alleg.* iii. 70.

² *De cherubim*, 19. ³ *Ibid.* 35. ⁴ *De posteritate Caini*, 49.

⁵ *Ibid.* 52. ⁶ *Deus immut.* 19. ⁷ *De mut. nom.* 44.

is the *only cause* of all good things, whether for the soul or the body or external circumstances.”¹ “O my mind, dost thou wish that God should rejoice over thee? Rejoice thyself and bring no costly offering—for how can He need aught of thine? But *receive* all that He gives Thee with gladsome mind, for He rejoices in giving, when they who receive are worthy of grace.”²

This doctrine permeates the Odes, and appears plainly in passages which may more suitably be quoted elsewhere. We would here call attention to the fact that both Philo and the Odist speak of every spiritual blessing as *received*.

8⁹ Receive knowledge from the Most High.

9⁴ Be rich in God your Father,

And receive the thought of the Most High.

11⁴ From beginning to end I have received His knowledge.

15⁶ I received redemption from Him without grudging.

30² Come, ye thirsty ones, and receive a draught.

In endeavouring to establish the dependence of the Odist on Philo, more striking even than similarity of doctrine is the similarity of similes which are of frequent occurrence in both. The constant use of the *same metaphors* to denote the gracious causality of God and the passivity of man is very impressive.

(1) One of these is that of *showers*, which we have had several times already; and the Odist also sings: “Shower on us Thy rain. Open Thy rich fountains” (4¹⁰): but there is another passage in the Odes where we seem to have a verbal coincidence with Philo:

35² The *cloud* of peace he placed over my head,
Which was guarding me all the time.

³ It was to me for *salvation*,

When everything was disturbed and dismayed.

¹ The dew (or, fine rain) of the Lord he quietly let fall on me.

⁴ There went out for *them* smoke and judgment;
But I was secure by the command of the Lord.

¹ *Ibid.* 39.

² *De somniis*, ii. 26.

Compare this verbally with the following :—"I read in the oracles, how a *cloud* came between the Egyptian and the Israelitish army, which did not permit the chaste and God-loving race to be pursued . . . being a covering and *salvation* for the friends, but an instrument of vengeance and punishment for the enemies: for on minds which are suitable he *softly-rains* (ἐπιψεκάζει) wisdom, which is by nature unacquainted with any evil; but on those minds which are filthy and unproductive of knowledge, he rains down a crowd of punishments, bringing a deluge—a pitiless destruction."¹

(2) A similar figure is that of *Fountain*, which occurs six times in the Odes (4¹⁰, 11⁶, 26¹⁴, 30¹², 40⁴), and is used in precisely the same sense by Philo: as when he says :—"O bounteous God, plenteous and countless are Thy graces having no boundary nor end, like *fountains* bursting forth, more than can be drawn from them"² "A most beautiful draught is given by God to men to drink, namely, wisdom, which proceeds from the Fountain, which He brought forth from His own wisdom."³ And again, "When by the grace of the Father we desire to throw away and wash off all sensible and corporeal qualities, *sweet waters* (30³) and health-giving fountains flow over us."⁴

(3) A third figure expressing Divine efficacy and human passivity, found frequently in both our authors, is that of a *stream* or *river*. We cite a passage from the sixth Ode :—

- (a) 6⁷ There went forth a stream.
And it became a river great and wide;
(b) 8 For it swept away everything and wore it away
And brought it to the Temple.
(c) 10 For it came over the surface of the whole earth
And filled everything.

¹ *Quis div. heres*, 42.

² *Quis div. heres*, 7. ³ *Leg. alleg.* ii. 22. ⁴ *Ques. et Sol.* ii. 15.

(d) ¹⁶ The waters give strength to their feebleness,
And light to their eyes.

We will now adduce the Philonic parallels:—

(a) (d) “God sends forth the stream of His own primeval Wisdom and causes the converted soul to drink of unchangeable health.” ¹

(c) Commenting on the words, “The river of God is full of water,” Philo says, “It must mean the Divine word, which is full of the streams of Wisdom; and which, *as some one has said*, flows through all places and rises to the Height (εἰς τὸ ὕψος) because of the continuous and incessant rush of that ever-flowing Fountain.” ²

¶ (b) On one occasion Philo uses the metaphor of (b) in a different sense, and speaks of “profanity” as being “like the rush of a *torrent*, *sweeping* all before it, approaching and violating the most sacred of *Temples*, and throwing down all that is sacred in them, etc.” ³

5. Closely akin to the above sentiments is the doctrine of *Inspiration* which appears in both our sources. It is certainly “dynamical,” if not “mechanical,” in the way in which it exalts the Divine efficiency and ignores human co-operation. Listen first to the Odist:—

6 ¹ As the hand moves on the lyre and the strings speak,
So the Spirit of the Lord speaks in my members.
And I speak by His love.

He destroys all that is foreign, and everything is the Lord's.

This is exactly Philo's view: as when he says: “A prophet utters nothing of his own (οὐδὲν ἴδιον), but is the interpreter of one who suggests all that he says. During the time he is ἐν ἐνθουσίᾳ, he is ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ: reason having abdicated and withdrawn from the citadel of the soul, while the divine Spirit has entered and taken up his abode.” ⁴ Again, “The prophet says nothing of his own (οὐδὲν οἰκεῖον),

¹ Leg. alleg. ii. 21.

² De somniis, ii. 38 (37).

³ De Cherubim, 28.

⁴ De falsa testimonia.

for he who is really inspired and enthused is unable to understand what he himself says ; but whatever he may utter will proceed from him, as if another suggested it.”¹

“No wicked man can really be enthused. The wise man is a sounding-board (ὄργανον ἡχείων), invisibly knocked and struck by God.”²

The *privileges* of the one who is divinely inspired are thus expressed by the Odist:—

(a) 12¹² Blessed are they who by this means know everything.

(b) 17¹⁰ Nothing appeared to me as closed,

Because the doorway of everything was I myself.

(c) 11² The Most High hath *filled* me with His *love*.

(d) 38¹⁵ I cheered my soul because Truth was going with me.

(e) 38² Truth guided me over pits and ravines.

(f) 22⁷ Thy hand has levelled the way for those who trust thee.

There is one passage in Philo which contains almost all these metaphors :³ “Flee from thyself, being entranced and inspired by prophetic divination. For while the mind is enthused, being no longer in itself, but agitated and frenzied by heavenly *love* (c) it is conducted by Him who really is, and drawn upwards towards Him ; *Truth* goes along before (d), and removes the things which are in the way (ἐν ποσίν) that the mind may travel a *level road*” (f).

(a) “To the Prophet, *nothing is unknown*, since he has in him a noëtic sun and shadowless rays, in order to have a most lucid apprehension of things invisible to sense, but apprehensible by intellect.”⁴

6. Perhaps the most beautiful indication of Philo’s genuine piety is the frequency with which he reminds himself that nothing which man can do can add to the Divine perfections, or render any assistance to God. In almost every treatise of Philo’s running through them almost like a

¹ *De monarchia*, i. 9.

² *Quis div. heres*, 14.

³ *Quis div. heres*, 52.

⁴ *De Magistratibus*, 8.

refrain, come the words: "Not that God has any need of aught that man can do, but does everything out of pure goodness." "God is absolutely in need of nothing at all," he says.¹ "All things whatsoever are the gift, the bounty, the charisma of God."² "He is King of the world for evermore. But a king has need of nothing, rather his subjects have in all things need of him."³ Time after time Philo assures us that God is most self-sufficient (*αὐταρκέστατος ἑαυτῷ*)⁴ Does not the Odist give us an echo of these words when He sings:—

4° Thou gavest us Thy fellowship.

Not because Thou hadst need of us, but we had need of Thee.

7. And now it remains to consider the *Soteriology* of the Odes and of Philo on its *subjective* side. As we have said, they both consider the most important condition of salvation to be absolute surrender to the Divine. "When Abraham got very near to God," says Philo, "he at once perceived that he was but dust and ashes."⁵ "It is impossible to conquer pleasure, unless the soul confesses that all activity and all progress are from God, and attributes nothing to itself."⁶ "God led him (Abraham) out: i.e. out of the prisons of bodily lusts, out of the holes (= Haran) of the senses, out of the sophistries of deceptive thought; and, most of all, out of himself and the opinion that a man is able to do anything by his own self-exerted, independent mind (*αὐτεξουσίῳ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι γνώμῃ*)"⁷ "Abraham knew most when he renounced himself most. He who renounces himself gets to know God."⁸

These thoughts permeate the Odes, but it is more convincing to establish our thesis of connection, to show the

¹ *De fortitudine*, 3. ² *Leg. alleg.* iii. 24. ³ *De plantatione*, 12.

⁴ *De decalogo*, 16; *De sacrific.* 4; *De fortitudine*, 3.

⁵ *Deus immut.* 34. ⁶ *Leg. alleg.* ii. 22. ⁷ *Quis div. heres*, 16.

⁸ *De somniis*, i. 10.

same mode of expression in our two authors; e.g. the Odist says :—

11 ^o I have stripped off folly and cast it from me.

21 ² I have stripped off darkness, and put on light.

15 ^o I have stripped off mortality through His grace.

I have put on immortality through His name.

In literal agreement with the last of these Philo says that “when Abraham left his father’s house, ‘God appeared to him.’ This shows that God is distinctly seen by the one who has *stripped off mortality* (τῷ τὰ θνητὰ ὑπεκδύντι)” ¹ And again, “The soul which has put off the body (ἐκδύσα τὸ σῶμα) and what is dear to it, and has fled a long way from them, receives solidity and fixity in the doctrines of virtue.” ²

Again, the student of Philo cannot fail to be struck with the frequency with which he uses the word οὐδένεια, “nothingness,” to describe man’s insufficiency to save himself. “I have learned,” he says, “to measure my own nothingness, and to gaze on the tremendous heights of thy benevolence. When I perceive myself to be dust and ashes, then I am encouraged to meet Thee.” ³ “If you remember your own nothingness in everything, you will remember the superabundance of God in everything.” ⁴ In exact agreement with this, the Odist says :—

11 ² I left my nothingness and turned unto the Most High.

17 ² I am released from nothingness (Harnack: “Nichtigkeit”),
And there is no condemnation to me.

Again, Philo, after describing how the High Priest put off the gorgeous robes, says, “So the soul comes forth naked, without colours or sounds to make a libation of the soul’s blood and to offer as incense the whole *mind* to God the Saviour and Benefactor.” ⁵ Similarly, the Odist says :—

¹ *Det. pot.* 44. ² *Leg. alleg.* ii. 15.

³ *Quis div. heres*, 6. ⁴ *Sacr. Abel.* 14. ⁵ *Leg. alleg.* ii. 15.

- 20 ¹ A Priest of the Lord am I, and Him I serve as Priest,
And to Him I offer the sacrifice of His thought
 ⁴ Offer thy *reins* without blemish.

8. We have already intimated that self-surrender to God is followed by a remarkable *change* in the heart and life. The Odist describes this change in the following ways :—

- 17 ⁴ The face and likeness of a new person I received.
4 ¹⁷ All who see me will be amazed,
 For I am of another race (*γένος*).
 ¹⁰ His munificence gave me birth, and the thought of his heart.
17 ⁶ As a stranger I was considered by them.
11 ¹⁶ Blessed are they that have been changed from darkness to light.

As Philonic parallels we may quote the following :—

(a) “The self-taught race (*αὐτομαθὲς γένος*) is something *new*, surpassing description and really divine.” ¹
“When I recognise God’s *munificence* and that I am ‘dust and ashes,’ I am so essentially changed, that I seem no longer to exist.” ²

(b) “Thinking it would be of great benefit to the creature to receive a *thought* (*ἐννοίαν*) of the Creator, He breathed on him from above somewhat of His own proper Divinity.” ³

(c) “God has made us a contradiction to our neighbours.” ⁴

(d) “If you were *transformed*, and shared the mind you ought to have, you would say, ‘All things are the property of God’.” ⁵

¶ Both our authors conceived of the great change as being effected by the implantation of a divine principle within the human soul : e.g., Philo says : “It is for God to plant and build up virtues in the soul.” ⁶ “The bounteous God plants in the soul, as it were, a Paradise of virtues.” ⁷
“It is God alone who can open the womb of the soul, and

¹ *De fuga*, 30.

² *Quis div. heres*, 6.

³ *Det. pot.* 24.

⁴ *Conf. ling.* 13.

⁵ *De cherubim*, 22.

⁶ *Leg. alleg.* i. 15.

⁷ *De plantat.* 9.

sow in it the virtues, and cause it to bring forth that which is good.”¹ Surely it is a disciple of the same school who says :—

- 11¹ My heart is cloven, and its shoots are visible.
 Grace has blossomed in it and made fruit for the Lord.
 2 The Most High has pierced me by His Spirit,
 And revealed to Himself my reins,
 And filled me with His love.
 38¹⁷ He planted me, He placed the root,
 Watered it, established and blessed it,
 And its fruits unto eternity.

9. And now we must conclude this paper with the *ideal of holiness* common to the Odes and Philo. It is surely a fine passage in which Philo says : “To those who have shown themselves devoid of understanding, it is fitting to say : ‘Gentlemen, the best of prayers and the summit of happiness is to be *like God*’.”² “No one knows of Moses’ tomb : for who could note the migration of a perfect soul ? Nor do I think that the soul itself, while waiting this event, was conscious of its own improvement, while it was *becoming gradually divine*.”³ “Those souls only can draw near to God, who regard *likeness* to Him the end of existence.”⁴ The Odist has the same ideal :—

- 3⁸ I shall be united with Him
 Because love has found its beloved.
 17⁷ The Most High knew me
 And reared me in all His perfections.
 25⁸ Thou didst cover me with the garment of Thy Spirit.
 15⁹ I have put on incorruption through His name.
 4⁷ Who can put on Thy goodness and practise iniquity ?

Dr. Harris seems to regard Ode 13 as the gem of the collection. It runs thus :—

Behold our Mirror is the Lord.
 Open your eyes and see them in Him,
 And learn what manner of countenance ye have,

¹ *Leg. alleg.* iii. 63.

² *De decalogo*, 15. ³ *Sacr. Abel.* 3. ⁴ *De opif. mundi*, 50.

And proclaim the praise of His Spirit
 And remove the filth from your face.
 Love His holiness and clothe yourself with it
 And ye shall be without blemish for ever with Him.

There is clearly a Philonic parallel to this, which is equally interesting and characteristic. Speaking of the hallowing effect which is sometimes produced by "the migration" of the soul from the body in dreams, Philo says: "Looking fixedly (*ἀφορῶν*) on Truth as at a *mirror*, having *removed-the-filth* (*ἀπορρυψάμενος*) from the things derived from the phantasies of the senses, the soul *receives*, by the divine indwelling, an *impress* from the truthful divination as to the future through dreams."¹

J. T. MARSHALL.

DID PAUL COMMEND HIS GOSPEL?

(1) Not only did Jesus teach that the tree is known by its fruits, that creed is tested by character, but Paul himself submitted his own apostolate to the test that his converts were living epistles, read and known of all men. We prove Paul's Gospel as he would have desired that it should be proved by the testimony of his own character. Did he in word and deed commend his Gospel? In answering this question we must avoid two extremes. Paul's apostolate has on the one hand led many Christian scholars to substitute indiscriminating panegyric for a judicious estimate, and to resent even the suggestion that Paul was a man of like passions with ourselves, and had not already attained, nor was already perfect. It is certain that Paul himself would not have welcomed such flattery. Antagonism to Paul's Gospel has on the other hand led some scholars to an unqualified depreciation, to an exaggera-

¹ *De migratione Abr.* 34.

tion of the influence of his Pharisaism and Rabbinism on the substance and the exposition of his Christian belief, to an unwarranted emphasis on the abnormal features of his Christian experience in order to discredit the significance and value of that experience as a whole, to a failure to realise the essential greatness of the man, whether his Gospel be accepted or rejected. The purpose of this article is not to write a literary appreciation, but to give as accurate a psychological analysis of the personality of Paul as the data afforded by his letters will allow.

(2) As Paul was a Jewish scribe before he became a Christian preacher, we must first of all recognise and estimate him as a *scholar*. In a previous contribution the writer has endeavoured to show that he was not influenced by the Graeco-Roman environment of his early years to the extent that some scholars have tried to make out; but that his contact with this wider civilisation and culture did, when once he had escaped the bondage of his Pharisaism, impart a greater breadth to his intellectual outlook and personal sympathies than would have been probable in a Palestinian Jew. His scholarship was in the main Rabbinic: and his Gospel was, and could not avoid being, affected by his previous training. Not only had he as a Pharisee worked out in his own experience the inefficiency of the law for the life of the soul in God, but his knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures, and his mastery of the scribal methods of interpretation enabled him to give a scriptural basis to his argument for the sole sufficiency of grace. It is the living experience that now appeals to us, and there is much in the argument that appears strange to our modes of thought; but it was of the utmost importance in the controversy of the apostolic age that the claim of emancipation was advocated by one who was so fully equipped with the weapons which the opponents

of the cause wielded, and who could use the weapons more effectively than they could. To the writer there seems to be very much in the late Dr. Bruce's suggestion that the gracious invitation of Matthew xi. 28-30 was addressed to such as Paul, because Jesus had a longing for disciples who were not in the matters of the mind and the soul "babes," but who, while "wise and prudent," were yet saved from Pharisaic self-satisfaction by having found the higher life both a labour and a burden, and to whom He could impart a deeper satisfaction than the "babes" were able to receive. As the scholar Paul brought more questions to, and so found more answers in, the Gospel of Jesus. It is interesting in this respect to compare Paul and John. John is a thinker, but not a scholar. His reference to the Logos in the prologue of his Gospel does not prove any minute knowledge of any current system of philosophy, and the rest of the Gospel is evidence of spiritual meditation rather than scholarly resource. By reflexion a comparatively few ideas are presented in varying aspects, and manifold relations. There is nothing like the wealth of knowledge or thought that we find in Paul's letters. Paul's scholarship is worth insisting on as, while scholarship by itself without moral effort and religious aspiration will not make the religious genius, and not even fit a man to be an influential teacher in the things of God, yet on the other hand it is a fact of significance that the Christian faith did gain possession of a mind so richly endowed as was Paul's, and that it was commended and defended so effectively by abounding learning of the age.

(3) The scholar is not often the man of affairs; but in Paul there was the combination of qualities. Sir William Ramsay has so fully dealt with Paul as the *statesman* that little need be said to prove this claim. As Roman

citizen he was led to recognise more clearly than any other Christian leader of the age the opportunity that the Roman Empire offered for the spread of the Gospel, and to make use more fully of the security and the facility of travel and intercourse that it afforded. Yet not every Roman citizen had so wide a vision of the Roman Empire as God's preparation for the Church of Christ on earth : and thus that fact alone does not account for Paul's aspiration and achievement. But this is not the only instance of what we may without exaggeration call statesmanship of the highest order. Surely the conviction for which he had to wage so severe a conflict, that the Gentile must not have the burden of the Jewish law imposed upon him, is also proof of practical genius. When the emancipation of the Gentiles was secured, does not the same excellence appear in his organisation of the churches he founded, and in the means he took for maintaining unity of spirit and purpose in these churches, and still more in his zealous endeavour to bring Jew and Gentile into the one body of Christ, the middle wall of partition having been removed in His cross ? In *Ephesians* we have an ideal of the Christian Church, the motive of Paul's labours and sacrifice, which has not yet been realised.

(4) Of this practical genius of Paul another instance may be found in his treatment of the questions of morals that were submitted to him. We may call him a *sage* as well as a statesman and a scholar. He had the practical reason of Kant, the Christian conscience enlightened and quickened by the Spirit of God, in eminent degree. The virtue of wisdom was richly bestowed on him ; it was indeed the philosopher of Plato's ideal who guided the churches he had founded in their practical affairs. We may illustrate this quality of Paul in his treatment of two difficult questions, the exercise of the spiritual gifts in the

church at Corinth, and the relation of the "weak" and the "strong" brethren in the church at Rome. Not only does he in 1 Corinthians xii. anticipate the modern conception of human society as organic, as a living body of which the members discharge different functions, and so must be mutually dependent, but in the following chapter he formulates the ultimate principle of all Christian morality not only with the wisdom of the philosopher, but with the beauty of the poet. In treating narrow scruples in Romans xiv. and pleading for consideration from those who do not share them he asserts the complementary moral principles of individual liberty and mutual responsibility. We have in the letter to Philemon the wisdom that discerns and claims the recognition of the worth of the slave even as the Christian brother, combined with the prudence that does not attempt the overthrow of the institution of slavery. It is possible, we must admit, that Paul's dealing with this institution as he did was less due to prudence, the quality which we now discover in his action, than to his detachment from the existing order of society by reason of his absorption of interest and desire in that Kingdom of God, the establishment of which on earth he anticipated ere long at Christ's Second Advent. In some minds such an expectation produced, as we see in the epistles to the Thessalonians, an impatience with and a revolt against the present conditions that were a peril to the influence of the church in the world, and we may in contrast lay stress on the sobriety of Paul in regard to human institutions. Paul is worthy of the highest honour as a sage when he deals with morality, but there is a lower realm of human conduct where casuistry tries to lay down precise rules of behaviour, and here one cannot but recognise that Paul is not so successful. Undoubtedly it was prudent in the society in which the Christian Church had to bear

its testimony that the women should not assert the spiritual liberty they had won in Christ by too rash a disregard of social conventions in appearing in public unveiled, or in speaking in the congregation, and we may even now endorse Paul's counsels of expediency ; but the arguments Paul uses to support his commands betray the Jewish scribe rather than the Christian apostle. His views on marriage too as expressed in 1 *Corinthians* do not rise to the height of the Christian ideal, as do his exhortations in *Ephesians*. But it would be unreasonable to expect that even one so great as Paul should at once rise above all his limitations.

(5) But in the scholar, the statesman, and the sage, we have not what is most distinctive of Paul. We must think of him as the *seer*, to whom the supersensible, the spiritual and the divine was a reality, of the glory of which he did not catch glimpses only now and then, but which we may claim was the light of all his seeing, a splendour that fell on his daily path. We need not now dwell on those charisms, of which only when driven by calumny and depreciation he boasted, and yet felt himself foolish in boasting (2 Cor. xii.)—his speaking with tongues (ecstatic utterances), his "visions and revelations," his trances, in which he seemed to himself transported into Paradise. To us now these abnormal accompaniments of intense religious emotion do not appear as valuable as they appeared to Paul's contemporaries ; and it is not of any of these experiences we think when we speak of him as a seer. It is surely a proof of Paul's own spiritual discernment that he assigned to all these charisms a subordinate place, and that he recognised, as he does in verse 7, the spiritual peril of being "exalted above measure" that their possession involved. While we cannot now in our estimate of Paul lay any stress on these gifts, yet

we must not make the opposite mistake of assuming that Paul was spiritually abnormal, not to say morbid, and that therefore his vision of the invisible is to be discredited. His "visions and revelations" do not deprive of its supreme significance the appearance of Christ to him on the way to Damascus, which changed him from the persecutor to the apostle. The way in which he appeals to this incident as the seal of his apostleship forbids our regarding it as no more objective than were these other experiences. That an objective reality was then manifested to him alone explains not only his conversion, but his subsequent course also. What gives him his place as the seer is his vivid and intense realisation of the presence of Christ with himself. One cannot read his letters without being brought as directly into the presence of the Christ of faith as the Gospels bring us into the presence of the Jesus of history. Paul impresses us as an eye-witness, if the paradox may be excused, of the invisible Saviour and Lord. To him the supersensible has the reality of the sensible, and is even more dominant in his life. As he himself confesses "we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things that are not seen are eternal" (2 Cor. iv. 18). While for Paul the light and heat of the eternal realm are as it were focussed in the Christ, whom he so clearly perceived in spiritual vision and communion, yet this capacity is of still wider range. He always visualises the invisible. We may call it imagination if we will so long as we do not understand by that any fiction; but for Paul spiritual reality is not abstract as it is for most men, but concrete. In his conception of the Church in *Ephesians* he makes us see reality; so also of the last things he has not an idea but an image. So real to him is Christ, and all Christ brings with Him, that he has a distinct and

certain perception of that which to most men is little more than conjecture.

This characteristic of Paul has often been called his mysticism ; but it is undesirable that a word so ambiguous in its meaning as currently used, and having in its stricter historical sense such misleading associations, should be employed in this connexion. For there are two features of Paul's spiritual vision of and communion with Christ that distinguish his experience from such as may be properly called mystical. On the one hand his experience depended on history, and on the other hand it issued in character. For Paul the Christ of faith was identical with the Jesus of history. It may be that Paul was not much interested in the details of the earthly life and ministry of Jesus, although even that is by no means certain ; but there can be no doubt or question that he believed in a revelation of God and a redemption of man in facts of time, and not merely in eternal ideas and ideals. That Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried and rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4), is the historic reality on which rested his experience. His union with Christ was not merely contemplation of, and satisfaction in Him, but moral transformation. His crucifixion and his resurrection with Christ were the two aspects of the new creation which in Christ he experienced—his dying unto sin, and his living unto God. If this be mysticism, then all deep and strong Christian life is mystical.

(6) As has just been indicated, Paul the seer was also Paul the *saint*. It is certain that Paul himself would not have welcomed the title saint as conferred on him by the Catholic Church, for on the one hand it distinguishes him from his Christian brethren as he was far too great to desire to be distinguished, and on the other hand it

includes him in a company in which for the most part he would not have felt at home. To saintship in this artificial use of the word he would have made no claim. When, however, we call him saint we must use the term with a fuller meaning than when Paul himself addresses all believers as called to be saints, for we do gratefully and admiringly recognise that he realised that ideal to a degree that few others have attained. To call him a saint is not, however, to assert his sinlessness. It shows no lack of reverence for his greatness and his goodness, but is the tribute that even in estimating the hero or the saint we ought to pay to truth, to admit that he was a man of a fiery temper, which on occasion blazed with a scorching heat (1 Cor. v. 5, xvi. 22; Gal. i. 8, v. 12; Phil. iii. 2; Acts xxiii. 3), that he asserted his own qualifications as an apostle with a confidence for which he himself makes an apology (2 Cor. xii. 7); that he did not place himself at the point of view of those with whom he was engaged in controversy, and so failed to do justice to their position or to recognise their difficulties; that he felt that he himself ran the risk of undue severity in demanding the punishment of a wrong-doer (2 Cor. ii. 5-11); that in dealing with some practical questions his inherited prejudices got the better of his Christian enlightenment (1 Cor. xi. 1-16); that he did not show his usual courage or faith in agreeing to the compromise with Jewish prejudices proposed to him on his last visit to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 23-26), or in playing on the rivalry of Sadducees and Pharisees in the Council (xxiii. 6). It is true that Paul was exposed to exceptional provocation, that in defending himself as an apostle he was contending for his Gospel and the freedom of the Gentile churches; that his opponents were most unscrupulous in their methods of undermining his authority, and appeared to him to challenge what was most essential

in his Christian faith; that interests, for which he was willing to lay down his life, were at stake; that when he came to Jerusalem he was anxious at any cost to conciliate the Jewish Christians, and to realise his ideal of a Christian Church in which Jew and Gentile should be one in Christ—all this must in fairness be argued. In such a situation, amid such difficulties and perplexities, with so great perils and antagonisms, we should probably marvel rather that Paul bore himself with a self-control which was so seldom broken down. But the instances we have noted show clearly that his was not that good-nature, in which control of temper is no virtue, but rather a passionateness of disposition which only a strong will reinforced by abounding grace could subdue.

(7) There is one question regarding the character of Paul which, however uninviting, cannot, in such an estimate of his personality, be passed over in silence. With Paul's doctrine of the *flesh* we are not at present concerned, but Dr. Bruce has suggested that Paul's use of this term for sin may be due to his own liability to the temptation of sensuality. (THE EXPOSITOR, Fourth Series, volume ix. pp. 190, 191.) If in Romans vii. 7-25, Paul is describing his own inward struggle before his conversion, as is almost certain, and if, as is probable, we should render ἐπιθυμήσεις by "lust" rather than "covet," if further in 1 Corinthians ix. 27 he is referring to an asceticism which for his own safety he continued even after his conversion, then much can be said in support of this view. Even if animal appetite was naturally strong in him, he retained self-mastery, and thus the excellence of his character is enhanced by the strength of the temptations he resisted and overcame. And can there be any doubt that this form of temptation is more likely to assail the man of intense emotion and passionate affection as Paul was? His letters palpitate

with feeling. Many instances could be given of the sudden changes of his moods ; but 2 Corinthians best serves as an illustration. He was utterly cast down by the troubles and perils of the church in Corinth, where his authority had been defied, and probably he had himself been personally insulted (ii. 5-11); to quote his own description, "we were weighed down exceedingly beyond our power, insomuch that we despaired even of life" (i. 8). But when Titus brought the good news that the church had been won back to its loyalty, he at once exults with joy ; the relief to him was like a resurrection from the dead. "Thanks be unto God, which always leadeth us in triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest through us the savour of His knowledge in every place" (ii. 14).

This intensity of his emotions made his changeful experience a blended tragedy and triumph. "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the exceeding greatness of the power may be of God, and not from ourselves ; we are pressed on every side, yet not straitened ; perplexed, yet not unto despair ; pursued, yet not forsaken ; smitten down, yet not destroyed ; always bearing about in the body the dying of Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our body" (iv. 7-10). That Paul suffered much from bodily weakness and pain as well as from the perils of his journeys, the weariness of his labours and the persecution of his foes is certain. Whatever his "stake in the flesh" may have been, it caused him acute misery (xii. 7). The intensity of his emotional life makes it all the more wonderful that he fought his fight, finished his course and kept his faith as he did (2 Tim. iv. 7).

Closely allied with his intense emotion was his passionate affection. How great he was in loving appears not only in 1 Corinthians xiii., the perfect hymn of love, but in every one of his letters. In 2 Corinthians we have the passion

of wounded affection; in *Philippians* the praise of a love that was satisfied. The anger of *Galatians* is love enflamed by solicitude for its beloved. The personal greetings and commendations in the epistles show the discrimination of a tender and great heart. What gracious courtesy and consideration of love for slave and master alike pervades the epistle to *Philemon*. This love was always desiring, praying for, and seeking to bestow only the highest, the life in Christ, on all who were its care. It was willing to win blessing for others by sacrifice of self. "Yea, and if I am offered (Gr. poured out as a drink offering) upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all, and in the same manner do ye also joy and rejoice with me" (Phil. ii. 17-18). Gentleness, tenderness, forbearance, and forgiveness—love's manifold graces are found in him.

(8) Such emotionalism and affectionateness are often regarded as signs of effeminacy rather than as accompaniments of virility. But Paul was as strong and brave as he was full of feeling and love. His conflict with the Judaisers for the freedom of the Gentiles, his assertion of his authority in Galatia and in Corinth, when its overthrow meant the abandonment of the Gospel, his quiet and steadfast endurance of all the perils and persecutions that his ministry involved, his readiness to face the raging mob in Ephesus (Acts xix. 30), his self-command in his several trials (xxii.-xxvi.), his own calmness and power to inspire confidence in others on board ship (xxvii.) all show the man of heroic mould. Just because his temptations were so keen, his experiences so trying, his emotions so lively, and his affections so intense, does his self-mastery in his self-surrender to Christ in the fulfilment of his calling show a strength of will that is the glory of his manhood. It would be difficult indeed to conceive a stronger or braver man.

(9) Yet in Paul we see more than the glory of manhood ; there is in him the glory that excelleth of the grace of God. It is his absorption in, and submission to Jesus Christ that gives him the place he holds in the Christian Church. In his humility he describes himself as "chief of sinners" and "least of saints," and "not meet to be called an apostle," because his standard of judgment is not his fellowmen, but Christ Himself. We may call him scholar, statesman, sage, seer, saint, but his proudest title is slave of Jesus Christ. The soul's last peril in its moral progress is self-sufficiency. Pharisaism is the sin that dogs the steps of piety and morality. To be satisfied with one's own goodness is its defeat in the moment of victory. From this Paul was saved by his clear vision of, his close communion with, and his complete surrender to Christ. At the height of his soul's achievement he rested not in his own greatness, but was caught up into the surpassing grace of Christ as his Saviour and Lord.

(10) With confidence we can answer "Yes" to the question, Does Paul commend his Gospel ? It is needful to put the question, and to give the answer. To Paul's conviction of man's insufficiency in himself, and his need of depending on divine grace there is to-day opposed a tendency to the subtle form of Pharisaism, in which man feels himself satisfied in his own sufficiency. Professor McGiffert gives as an instance of "the vicious consequences of universalising an individual experience," the statement, "Because one man feels his need of divine grace, therefore all men must need it ; or because one man feels sufficient unto himself, therefore all men are" (*Protestant Thought before Kant*, p. 253 note). He seems to regard both statements as equally legitimate within proper limits. But it can be said without hesitation that the first is the Christian view, and the second the Pharisaic. There can be no

doubt that Paul would have regarded dependence on divine grace as the truth for all, and self-sufficiency as error for all who cherished it. When we consider what he became by the grace of God, by dependence and not self-sufficiency, we may surely conclude that his message is one not only for men constituted as he himself was, but for all men, so that they may accomplish more than man's unaided effort can, and may find as he did that he could do all things, Christ strengthening him.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

STUDIES IN CONVERSION.

IV. JOHN BUNYAN.

CONVERSION may be said to consist in the seeking and the finding of the Saviour. Both of these may synchronize or nearly so; but they may also be separated by a wide interval. The seeking of the Saviour may last a long time, before He is found; and this interval may be one of pain and even agony. In such delay there is always an element of stupidity and unbelief, because the Saviour is waiting to be gracious. Yet there may, at the same time, be a providential reason. A prolonged and painful period of seeking may leave marks of various kinds on subsequent experience, of some of which notice will be taken in the present study; but the principal result designed invariably is to deepen the sense of sin and to render more complete the breach with a life of transgression.

In the Puritan Period there was so much frankness in the expression of religious feeling, not only among the Roundheads but also among the Cavaliers, that records of conversion from that time might have been expected to be numerous; and not a few anecdotes, bearing on the

subject, might be collected from biographic works then produced ; but no such narrative, of deep and sustained interest, has come down to us except the account of the conversion of John Bunyan.¹

This work is entitled *Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, and, next to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, it is Bunyan's greatest book. It is the key to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, supplying the actual facts in the author's history of which the scenes in the allegory are the imaginative equivalents. Every intelligent reader would, indeed, guess that the Slough of Despond, the Battle with Apollyon, Doubting Castle and other scenes of the allegory were transcripts from personal experience ; but not only does *Grace Abounding* confirm this guess, but it introduces us in sober prose to the persons and the incidents of actual life from which were derived the characters and the scenery of the Pilgrimage.

"Prose" the writing of this book may be called, to distinguish it from the *Pilgrim's Progress*, which is poetry ; but "sober" it is hardly right to call it ; for it is astonishing prose. Strange it is that, in an age of learning, when multitudes of authors who had enjoyed every advantage afforded by the best schools and universities were doing their utmost to write the English language, a man from the lower ranks, who had received hardly any schooling and could not even spell, was able to enter into competition with these educated authors and, in mastery of his mother tongue, to beat them all. Taken as a whole, indeed, *Grace Abounding* is not a particularly well written book. It is

¹ The absence of such a narrative about Richard Baxter is the greatest disappointment ; for he was wont to speak without reserve of his own experiences, and conversion was to him a familiar theme. But the opening pages of his autobiographical work, *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, are commonplace ; and we have not read far before we come upon the words, " Yet, whether sincere conversion began now, or before, or after, I was never able to this day to know."

confused and tedious. But here and there, at not too great intervals, there occur passages which, for originality and beauty, have hardly their match in the English language ; and there is scarcely a page but contains a line or two over which the intelligent reader will linger with delight, admiring the felicity of expression, the depth of feeling or the ripeness of wisdom it reveals.

Bunyan was born in 1628, when Cromwell was twenty-nine and Milton twenty years of age, at the village of Elstow, a few miles from Bedford. This place, as I remember it from a visit paid some years ago, consists of a single row of tiled houses, running slantwise up an incline among the fields. At the top stands a parish church, with a fine old tower, with which Bunyan's history has a memorable connexion ; while, near by, stand the ruins of an old manor house, from which he is supposed to have derived the notion of the House Beautiful in the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

"For my descent," he says, "it was of a low and considerable generation, my father's house being of that rank which is meanest and most despised of all the families of the land." That is to say, his father was a tinker or brazier, and to this trade he himself was also brought up. When he was about fifteen, he served for a short time as a soldier in the struggle then raging between King and Parliament. He speaks of himself as a wild and reckless boy : "As for my own natural life, it was indeed according to the course of this world and the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience. It was my delight to be taken captive by the devil at his will, being filled with all unrighteousness, and I had few equals for cursing, swearing, lying and blaspheming the Holy Name of God."

And again he says, "I was the ringleader of all the youths who kept me company in all manner of vice and ungodliness." Lord Macaulay, in his well-known essay on Bunyan,

has thrown out the suggestion that these self-accusations require to be taken with a grain of salt. This, he remarks, is religious language, in which conduct assumes a totally different appearance from that which it presents in the ordinary language of the world; and Bunyan was not a whit worse, he was probably rather better, than ordinary young fellows of his own class. In this no doubt there is truth: Bunyan's sins appear to have been chiefly sins of the lips. Yet, although such sins are of little account in the eyes of the world, they are justly held by an awakened conscience to be specially significant evidences of enmity to God, because they bring to their perpetrator no advantage but are undisguised expressions of the godless humours by which the natural heart is soured and polluted.

Bunyan's first upward step was his marriage, which took place at a very premature age and in circumstances so improvident that the bridegroom and bride had not as much household stuff as a dish or spoon betwixt them. But his wife was of godly parentage, and she brought home with her two good books left her by her father at his death—*The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* and *The Practice of Piety*. Through reading in these Bunyan received his first religious impressions, and possibly this recollection may have had something to do long afterwards with giving his mind a bent towards the writing of books as a means of doing good; at least Richard Baxter attributes his own enormous production of books to the same cause. The immediate result was that he became a regular church-goer, attending the parish church, where, he says, "I would devoutly say and sing as others did, yet retaining my wicked life." And he adds—it is to be feared with a touch of sarcasm—that his spirit was then so overrun with devotion to everything belonging to the Church that he "counted all things holy that were therein contained, and especially

the priest and clerk most happy, because they were the servants of God, and principal in the holy temple, to do His work therein." In short, he had reached the stage of the churchman who, perhaps in his cups, will profess his loyalty to religion and, if necessary, confirm his statements by rapping-out a good round oath—a type not yet altogether extinct.

His next stage of progress was brought about in a singular way. "One day," he says, "I was standing at a neighbour's shop-window, and there cursing and swearing and playing the madman, when there sat within the woman of the house and heard me: who, though she was a very loose and ungodly wretch, yet protested that I swore and cursed at that fearful rate that she was made to tremble to hear me, and told me, further, that I was the ungodliest fellow for swearing that ever she heard in all her life, and that I, by thus doing, was able to spoil all the youths in a whole town, if they came in my company." This reproof, though coming from so strange a quarter, had the effect of making him altogether give up his habits of profanity. About the same time, under the encouragement of a neighbour, he began to read the Bible, at least the historical part thereof. "For," he adds, "as for Paul's Epistles and suchlike Scriptures, I could not away with them." "I knew not Jesus Christ, neither did I leave my sports and plays."

One of these sports and plays was bell-ringing, carried on in the tower of the parish church. It is difficult to understand what harm he saw in this practice; but the meaning probably is, that he was associated in it with a band of reckless companions, from whom it was necessary to separate, if he was to lead an earnest life. "Another thing," he adds, "was my dancing. I was a full year before I could quite leave that."

By these renunciations and other efforts after reformation he succeeded not only in satisfying his own conscience but in drawing on himself the admiration of his neighbours. "They were amazed," he says, "at this my great conversion from prodigious profaneness to something like a moral life. And truly so they well might ; for this my conversion was as great as for Tom of Bedlam to become a sober man. Now, therefore, they began to speak well of me both to my face and behind my back. But oh, when I understood that these were their opinions of me, it pleased me mighty well. For, though as yet I was nothing but a poor painted hypocrite, yet I loved to be talked-of as one that was truly godly. I was proud of my godliness, and, indeed, I did all I did either to be seen-of, or well-spoken-of by man. Poor wretch as I was, I was, all this while, ignorant of Jesus Christ and going about to establish my own righteousness ; and had perished therein, had not God in mercy showed me more of my state by nature."

The mode in which he was awakened to perceive the imperfection of this second stage of attainment and to desire the existence of another, far higher and better, is described in a passage which ranks among the finest not only in Bunyan's works but in the English language. "Upon a day," he says, "the good providence of God did cast me to Bedford, to work at my calling ; and, in one of the streets of the town, I came where there were three or four poor women sitting at a door in the sun and talking about the things of God ; and, being now willing to hear them discourse, I drew near to hear what they said, for I was now a brisk talker also myself in the matters of religion. But I may say, I heard, but I understood not ; for they were far above, out of my reach. Their talk was about a new birth, the work of God on their hearts, also how they were convinced of their miserable state by nature. They

talked how God had visited their souls with His love in the Lord Jesus, and with what words and promises they had been refreshed, comforted and supported against the temptations of the devil. Moreover, they reasoned of the suggestions and temptations of Satan in particular ; and told to each other, by which they had been afflicted, and how they were borne up under his assaults. They also discoursed of their own wretchedness of heart and of their unbelief ; and did condemn, slight and abhor their own righteousness as filthy and insufficient to do them any good. And methought they spoke as if joy did make them speak ; they spake with such pleasantness of Scripture language and with such appearance of grace in all they said, that they were to me as if they had found a new world ; as if they were people that dwelt alone and were not to be reckoned among their neighbours.”

Never surely has the impression made by the beauty of holiness been so perfectly described. Bunyan went away convinced that he had not yet set foot within the mystic circle of real religion ; but he was determined not to rest till he had found the secret.

He did not, however, find it easily. Like many another both before and since, he perplexed himself with inquiries about the nature of faith, instead of looking out at the Object of faith. He tormented himself with wondering whether or not he was one of the elect, instead of listening to the call of the Gospel, which is addressed to all. Still, although as yet he enjoyed no settled peace, he was making progress. “I began,” he says, “to look into the Bible with new eyes, and read it as I never did before ; and especially the Epistles of the Apostle Paul were sweet and pleasant to me ; and, indeed, I was then never out of the Bible, either by reading or meditation, still crying out to God that I might know the truth, and the way to heaven

and glory." He was introduced, probably by the female friends whom he had heard talking in the sun, to Mr. Gifford, the pastor of the Baptist Church at Bedford, who invited him to his house and did what he could to relieve his troubles. But the state of his mind at this stage has been incomparably described by himself: "About this time," he says, "the state and happiness of these poor people at Bedford was thus, in a dream or vision, presented to me. I saw as if they were on the sunny side of some high mountain, there refreshing themselves with the pleasant beams of the sun, while I was shivering and shrinking in the cold, afflicted with frost, snow and dark clouds. Methought, also, betwixt me and them I saw a wall that did compass about this mountain. Now, through this wall my soul did greatly desire to pass; concluding that, if I could, I would go even into the very midst of them and there also comfort myself with the heat of their sun. About this wall I thought myself to go again and again, still prying as I went, to see if I could find some way or passage by which I might enter; but none could I find for some time. At the last I saw, as it were, a narrow gap, like a little doorway in the wall, through which I attempted to pass. Now, the passage being very straight and narrow, I made many efforts to get in, but all in vain, even until I was wellnigh bent out, by striving to get in. At last, with great striving, methought I at first did get in my head, and after that, by a sidling striving, my shoulders and my whole body. Then was I exceeding glad, and went and sat down in the midst of them, and so was comforted with the light and heat of their sun."

In spite of the happy ending of this dream, he was not yet, however, by any means out of trouble. Indeed, soon after this, to use his own words, a very great storm came down on him, which handled him twenty times worse than

all he had met with before. Doubts of the most radical nature as to the very existence of God, the divinity of Christ, and the trustworthiness of the Scriptures invaded his mind ; and, besides, the most horrible oaths, curses and blasphemies rushed to his lips with such violence that it was with the utmost difficulty he prevented them from escaping. He seemed to be possessed by some spirit of evil and to have lost control over his own thoughts. " I often," he says, " when these temptations have been with force upon me, did compare myself to a child whom some gipsy hath by force took up under her apron, and is carrying from friend and country. Kick sometimes I did, and also shriek and cry ; but yet I was as bound in the wings of the temptations, and the wind would carry me away." Whether or not he was right in referring these suggestions directly to the agency of Satan, we need not seek to determine. Perhaps that is as reasonable a hypothesis as any. Or perhaps we may believe that these were the last reactions of a rude and strong nature against the imposition of the yoke of Christ. Some would attribute them to the temperament of genius ; others to the fanaticism of the age. Anyway, they occasioned him enormous suffering ; though he shrewdly remarked, even at the time, that the distaste they gave to his spirit proved that there was in him something of a nature totally different from them. Gradually this storm subsided. The counsels of good Mr. Gifford helped ; and he was greatly assisted by falling in with a dilapidated copy of Luther's *Commentary on the Galatians*. Here he found himself in company with a master-spirit, who had long wandered in the same arctic region of doubt and despair ; and he was encouraged to look away out of himself to the life and death of Christ on his behalf. This was what he needed. He was too introspective—too much occupied with his own feelings, the rise or fall of which

elated or depressed him. He had to learn to anchor his faith in a work completed for him long ago—in accomplished facts, over which time and change have no power.

But he was not yet out of the wood. Indeed, his most terrible period of despair was still to come. Among the blasphemous thoughts which poured into his mind there was one which especially haunted him: it was a voice which whispered, "Sell Christ, sell Him, sell Him." "This temptation," he says, "did put me to such scares, lest I should, at some time, consent thereto, that, by the force of my mind in labouring to gainsay and resist it, my very body also would be put into action and motion, by way of pushing or thrusting with my hands and elbows, still answering, as fast as the destroyer said, 'Sell Him,' 'I will not, I will not, I will not, no, not for thousands, thousands, thousands of worlds'." But, one morning, while this was going on, the overwearied mind let slip the words, "Let Him go if He will." "And then," says Bunyan, "was the battle won, and down fell I, as a bird is shot from the top of a tree, into great guilt and fearful despair." He believed he had sold the Saviour; he compared himself to Judas; he was certain he had committed the unpardonable sin; and he especially tormented himself with the saying about Esau, that he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears. His anguish lasted for months, even years; and, as we follow him, he seems often to be trembling on the brink of melancholy madness. "I felt," he says, "such a clogging and heat at my stomach that I was as if my breastbone would have split asunder. I feared also that this was the mark that the Lord did set on Cain, even continual fear and trembling. Thus did I wind and twine and shrink, under the burden which was upon me; which burden also did so oppress me, that I could neither stand, nor go, nor lie, either at rest or quiet."

“One day,” he says, “I walked to a neighbouring town, and sat down upon a settle in the street, and fell into a deep pause about the fearful state my sin had brought me to ; and, after long musing, I lifted up my head ; but methought I saw as if the sun that shineth in the heavens did grudge to give me light, and as if the very stones in the street and the tiles upon the houses did bend themselves against me ; methought that they all combined against me to banish me out of the world. I was abhorred of them and unfit to dwell among them, or to be partaker of their benefits, because I had sinned against the Saviour. Oh how happy now was every creature over I was ! For they stood fast and kept their station, but I was gone and lost.” It is undeniable that sentiments like these are morbid and dangerous ; indeed, Bunyan himself speaks of some of the fancies by which he was tormented at this period as ridiculous. Yet out of these dark experiences precious consequences were derived—honey, as he himself says, out of the carcase of the lion.

For one thing, he thus obtained a lifelong sympathy with spiritual distress of every kind. Tenderness is one of the leading features of *The Pilgrim's Progress* ; and such names as the Slough of Despond, Giant Despair, Doubting Castle, Mr. Fearing, Mr. Feeble-mind and the like are eloquent indications that it is a book especially fitted for them that labour and are heavy-laden. But it was by his own troubles that Bunyan was taught to speak a word in season to him that is weary.

Again, his prolonged and passionate search for salvation made him lay hold of it with tenacity when at length he found it. The trouble with most people is, that they never realise what they are missing when they neglect Christ and His salvation. Those even who obtain peace very easily are in danger of never realising either the danger from which they

have escaped or the value of the possession they have won. But Bunyan saw the prize shining far above him and coveted it with unspeakable longing ; and, when it came into his hands, it seemed to him not to be sold for worlds.

Finally, in these years of despair he acquired an incomparable knowledge of the Word of God. Many, at their conversion, are enabled to lay hold of a single text of Scripture, on which they rest in peace ever afterwards. But this was not Bunyan's experience. He would find relief in a text for a day, or a week, or a month, and then he would have to search for another. Thus he was led from promise to promise, scrutinising page after page of the Bible, in order to find words able to keep his soul from sinking ; and this went on so long that he acquired a most extensive experimental knowledge of the treasures of the Word of God. Nothing in *Grace Abounding* is more striking than his references to texts which were made precious to him ; and the brief comments made on these in passing are pointed and original.

This was admirable preparation for the work of preaching, to which he was called by his fellow-members of the Baptist Church at Bedford, in the pastorate of which he succeeded his friend Mr. Gifford. The waves of his own troubles had not yet wholly subsided when he began to deal with the troubles of others. Indeed, he confesses that at first he went himself in chains to preach to those in chains and carried in his own conscience the fire that he persuaded them to beware of. But anxiety for the souls of others was salutary for him, because it diverted his mind from his own morbid imaginings. As a preacher he sprang at once into popularity, and in his later life he was like a bishop to the Baptist churches of Bedfordshire—a tall, strong-boned, but not corpulent man ; with ruddy face and sparkling eyes ; hair reddish ; nose well-set, not declining ; fore-

head high ; and his habit always plain and modest. His work as a minister was interrupted by an imprisonment lasting twelve years. What a satire on human life that a man like John Bunyan should have been imprisoned as a malefactor by a man like Charles II. ! Yet God knows how out of evil still to bring forth good ; and those twelve years, during which he and his friends were sighing and groaning over the suspension of his work, proved, in God's wonderful providence, to be the years of his immortal influence ; for in prison *Grace Abounding* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* were penned, as well as the best of the other books by which, being dead, he yet speaketh and will continue to speak as long as the English language is understood and as long as there are human beings capable of the experiences which these books record.

JAMES STALKER.

LEXICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.*

XXIII.

σκόλοψ.—In *Notes* i. (p. 274) BU 380⁹ (iii/A.D.) τὸν πόδαυ πονεῖς ἀπὸ σκολάπου was quoted in illustration of the fact that in Hellenistic vernacular the word had become *thorn* or *splinter* rather than *stake*: the same result followed from late citations in L. and S. So in *Syll.* 802⁹² (iii/B.C.) a man περὶ σκόλοπας τινας τοὺς ὀπτίλλους ἀμφέπεισε in falling from a tree, and became blind, apparently not at once (κακῶς δὲ διακείμενος καὶ τυφλὸς γεγεννημένος). Unless this is an illustration of the “beam in the eye” (!), we should think naturally of thorns or spikes. The R.V. margin “or *stake*” at 2 Corinthians xii. 7 may perhaps be added to the places

* For abbreviations see the February and March (1908) *EXPOSITOR*, pp. 170, 262.

where classical Greek has received too much weight in the Revisers' counsels : it would have been deeply interesting to see what would have happened if men like Lightfoot had known the papyri. (Cf. *Proleg.* ² or ³ 242.) LXX usage (see Grimm-Thayer) strongly confirms the rendering *thorn*.

σκορπίζω.—As a word of popular speech it is well attested by the ban of Phrynichus. So P Herm.7 ii¹⁸ (ii/A.D.) of young plum trees, ἐσκορπισμέναι ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, and so 28¹⁴.

σκούβαλον.—To *Notes* ii., iii. we may add a comment on the word's history. Its prevailing sense (= *stercus*—see Wetstein on Phil. iii. 8) may be explained by a popular association with σκῶρ, with which it is quite impossible to connect it historically. That it was a vulgar coinage from ἐς κύνας βαλεῖν is likely enough (like σκορακίζω from ἐς κόρακας) : its original meaning thus would be *refuse* (R.V. marg.) ; but the other is more probably what Paul meant. CPR 175¹⁶ (time of Commodus?) should have been quoted, like OP 43 *vs.* iii²⁵ (295 A.D.), as a *proper name*. Gemellus' letter FP⁷ (100 A.D.), cited in *Notes* ii., is rendered by the edd. " a little bundle, and rotten hay, the whole of it decayed—no better than dung."

σκούλλω.—In *Notes* i. (pp. 273 f.), ii. the word is pretty fully illustrated, but we could add a good many more *exx.*

σκοληκόβρωτος.—It may be worth while to quote a similar compound, ἰχθυόβρωτος, from *Syll.* 584⁸ (? i/B.C.) : a curse is issued against any one who injures the sacred fish of Atargatis—ὁ τούτων τι ποιῶν κακὸς κακῇ ἐξωλεία ἀπόλοιτο, ἰ. γενόμενος.

σορός.—C. and B. No. 651^{5, 10} (iii/A.D.) has the word twice, in an inscription of the usual kind warning off intruders from a family vault : no one is to put there ξενὸν νεκρὸν ἢ σορόν, a body or a bier that has carried it. In the first occurrence it is a permanent feature—the two Christian soldiers named made jointly for themselves and

their wives τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ σορόν, a symbolic bier carved on the "altar."

σπένδω.—In P Par 22³ (ii/B.C.) the Twins in the Serapeum are described as τῶν Ὀσοράπει (cf. *Archiv* iii. p. 250) χάσας σπενδουσῶν, cf. *Syll.* 653³ (i/B.C.) ἱεροὺς . . . αἶμα καὶ οἶνον σπένδοντας, TbP 600^{5f.} (iii/A.D.) οἴνου σπενδο[μέ]νον ἐν τῷ [ἱερῷ]. The verb is similarly used in the *libelli*, or certificates of pagan worship, by which those who "poured out libations" to the gods obtained immunity: see Milligan, *Selections*, p. 114 ff., and add the new document in the *Rylands Papyri* p. 21, καὶ ἔθυσα καὶ ἔσπισα καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐγευσάμην. Curtius (*St. Paul in Athens*, EXP. VII. iv. p. 447) has drawn attention to the fact that this, the simplest form of old Pagan worship, is the only one which St. Paul takes over and applies directly to himself: see Phil. ii. 17, ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, χαίρω καὶ συнχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν: 2 Tim. iv. 6, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἀναλύσεώς μου ἐφέστηκεν.

It may be added that the subst. σπονδῆ came to be used of an additional impost, particularly on vine-land, levied nominally for a libation to Dionysius; cf. OP 917³ (ii./iii. A.D.) with the Editors' note. From this the transition was easy to any "payment" or "gratification" added to the rent, e.g. OP 101¹⁹ (A.D. 142), 730¹³ (A.D. 130). In BM 948¹² (A.D. 236) (=III. p. 220) a ship-master receives in addition to his pay a jar of wine ὑπὲρ σπονδῆς, as a *pourboire*: cf. OP 610 (ii/A.D.) τὴν δὲ σπονδῆ(ν) χάρισαι and the similar use of the diminutive in OP 525^{5f.} (early ii/A.D.) ἐὰν δέη . . . δοθῆναι σπο[ν]δάριον "if [a gratuity must be given" (Edd.).

σπλάγχχνον.—For this word in its more distinctively "Hebraic" sense of kindness or benevolence, cf. BU 1139¹⁷ (B.C. 5) ὑπὲρ σπλάγχχνου, "for pity's sake." Lightfoot on Phil. i. 8 suggests that the verb was a coinage of the Jewish

dispersion, and Thumb *Hellenismus*, p. 123, practically confirms this.

σπουδάζω, σπουδή.—With the *acc. c. inf.* after σπουδάζω in 2 Pet. i. 15, for which Mayor can supply only one other example [Plato] *Alc. sec.* 141, σπουδάσαντες τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς παραγενέσθαι, cf. BU 1080¹⁴ (? iii/A.D.) σπούδασον ἡμᾶς καταξιῶσαι τῶν ἱσ[ω]ν γραμμάτων, also PFi 89^{11,13}, 131 (iii/A.D.). See *Proleg.* p. 205. For the “religious” connotation of σπουδή as in 2 Cor. viii. 7 (cf. Rom. xii. 8, 11, Heb. vi. 11), Thieme (p. 31) cites such passages from the Magnesian inscriptions as Magn. 53⁶¹ (iii/B.C.) ἀπόδειξιν ποιούμενος τῆς περὶ τὰ μέγιστα σπουδῆς, 85¹² (ii/B.C.) ἡ τοῦ [δῆ]μου πρὸς τε τ[ῆ]ν θεὰν ὁσιότης τε καὶ σπουδή. The general sense of “eagerness” or “anxiety” connected with the word comes well out in such a passage as HbP 44⁷¹. (B.C. 253 (252)) οὐ γὰρ ὥς ἔτυχεν περὶ τούτων τὴν σπουδὴν ποιεῖται ὁ διοικητής, “for the dioecetes is showing no ordinary anxiety with regard to this” (Edd.). For the phrase πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι as in Jude 3, cf. Michel 417³⁶ (end of iv/B.C.) quoted in *Proleg.* p. 214, and PP II. p. [45]⁸ (B.C. 258–3) (=Witk. p. 16) τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν πόησαι [το]ῦ ἀφελθῆναί σε διὰ τέλους.

σφυρίς.—The aspirated σφυρίς, which is read throughout by WH., is well attested in the papyri, e.g. OP 116^{19f}. (ii/A.D.) σφυρίδα φοίνικος καλοῦ, “a basket of good dates,” and the diminutive in OP 529⁵ (ii/A.D.) σφυρίδιν τραγημάτων. In FP 102 (c. A.D. 105), a series of farm accounts, wages are paid apparently according to the number of “baskets” (σφυρίδες) produced. See further *BS* pp. 158, 185, and *Classical Review*, xv. p. 33.

στάμνος.—For the wider use of σ. as an earthen jar for any purpose, and not merely for keeping wine, see *Archiv* v. p. 381, no. 56⁵¹. (late i/A.D.) στάμνον ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν ἑκατὸν πε[ν]-τήκοντα ἰσχάδες, “jar in which were a hundred and fifty

dried figs," also the newly published P. Hamburg 10³⁵ (ii/A.D.) with the Editor's note, where it is stated that *ὁ στάμνος* (instead of the Attic *ῆ στ.*) is more frequent in the papyri.

στάσις.—The usage of *σ.* in Acts xv. 2, xxiii. 7, 10, may be paralleled from P. Strass. 20¹⁰ (iii/A.D.) where certain persons, who have been long at strife, agree *στάσεις διαλύσασθαι*, and Rein. P. 18^{16f} (B.C. 108) *ἐπ' ἀδίκου στάσεως ἰστάμενος*, "soulevant une querelle injuste." In BM III. p. 184¹³³ (A.D. 113) the word is used of a "shift" of workmen.

σταυρός.—The metaphorical use of *σταυρός* in Luke ix. 23, *ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν*, finds an interesting illustration in a Christian prayer of the fourth or fifth century, OP 1058 *ὁ θεὸς τῶν παρακειμένων σταυρῶν, βοήθησον τὸν δοῦλόν σου Ἀπφορᾶν*, "O God of the crosses that are laid upon us, help thy servant Apphorus." "God is apparently thought of as at once the sender and mitigator of trials" (Ed.).

Στάχυς.—The proper name (as Rom. xvi. 9) is found in P. Revill. Mél. p. 295¹⁴ (B.C. 131–0) (=Witk. p. 73) *Πέλοπα καὶ Στάχυν*.

στέγη.—One of the poetical substantives, which has passed into general use in the *Κοινή*, e.g. PP II. p. [28]¹¹ (B.C. 241) *καθει (=ηι) ρηκότας τὰς στέγας*, "having taken down the upper story" (Ed.)—an action on the part of the owners to avoid having Crown officials billeted on them (*πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπισταθμεύεσθαι*). In *Syll.* 558¹⁴ (i/A.D.) *τ(ῆ)ν ὀπίσω τοῦ προπόλου στέγην*, the reference is to the covered vestibule adjoining the gate of the Temple of Asklepios: cf. *ib.* ¹⁸ *στεγάσαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ προπύλου τὸ ὀπίσω<ι>μέρος*. A neuter subst. is found in *Syll.* 813²⁰ *ἐπ[ὶ τὸ α]ὐτὸ στέγος ἐ[λθ]εῖν*, and a diminutive in OP 109²⁰ (a list of personal property, late iii/iv. A.D.) *στέγαστρον καινὸν α*, "1 new cover" (Edd.).

στέγω.—See *Thess.* p. 36, and add for a literary example P. Grenf. I. 1¹⁸ (ii/B.C.) ζηλοτυπεῖν γὰρ δεῖ, στέγειν, καρτερεῖν.

στενός.—The metaphorical use of σ. in Matt. vii. 13, Luke xiii. 24, may be illustrated from an amnesty decree of the Emperor Caracalla of July 11th, 212, where to avoid a too “narrow” interpretation of a previous decree that all may return to their own homes (εἰς τὰς πατρίδας τὰς ιδίας), it is emphasized that in reality all restrictions as to place of dwelling are: abrogated P. Giss. 40^{ii. 71}. ἵνα μὴ τις στενότερον παρερμηνεύσῃ τὴν χάριτά μου ἐκ τῶν ῥη[μά]των το[ῦ] προτέρου διατάγματος κ.τ.λ. In the introduction the Editor contrasts with στενότερον παρερμηνεύσῃ the φιλανθρωπότερ[ο]ν ἐρμηνεύω of an Epistle of Hadrian, BU 140^{19f}.

στενοχωρέω.—For this late word see PP II. p. [28]¹³ (B.C. 241—as quoted under στέγη) ἐπεὶ στενοχωροῦμεν σταθμοῖς, “since we are short of billets” (Ed.). It occurs also in one of the Hawara papyri, *Archiv* v. p. 381, no. 56^{3t} (late i/A.D.) στενοχωρεῖν ἐν τῷ κα . [.]φ οὐκ ἡδυνάσθη.

στέφανος.—It is popularly supposed that this word is not strictly used of royal crowns, but see *Thess.* p. 35.

στήκω.—A new present (M Gr. στέκω) from the perf. ἔστηκα, and retaining the same meaning. The idea of emphasis usually associated with the verb can hardly be pressed, in view of the late Greek love for such forms: cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 970, where it is interchanged with ἔστανεν (on which see *Proleg.* p. 55, note 2), ὁ[ς] ποτ[ε] γυμνασίῳ Φιλήμονος ἔστανεν Ἑρμῆν νῦν σ[τ]ήκω κα[τὰ] γὰρ Τελέσφορος.

στίγμα.—For the force of this word in Gal. vi. 17 see Deissmann's discussion *BS* p. 349 f. and the note by one of us in *Exp. Times* xxi. 283 f. The verb is found of branding a slave in P. Lille 29¹⁴ (iii/B.C.) μηθενὶ ἐξέστω σώματα πωλεῖν [ἐπ'] ἐξαγωγῇ, μηδὲ στίζειν.

στοιχείον.—The use of modern Greek in determining the meaning of early Hellenistic words is well illustrated by Pro-

fessor Gwatkin's translation of *στοιχεῖα* as "spirits" in the letter of Polycrates of Ephesus (Eus. *H.E.* v. 24), see this *Early Church History*, i. p. 264. It would appear that this meaning can also be extended to the New Testament passages, see Deissmann, *Encyc. Biblica* s.v. "Elements." For *σ.* of letters of the alphabet, see BU 959² (A.D. 148), and cf. Par P 63¹¹⁶ *στοιχειωδῶς* "letter by letter."

στοιχέω.—A striking parallel to Rom. iv. 12 is afforded by *Syll.* 325⁶ (i/B.C.) where a certain Aristagoras is praised for walking in the steps of his father and forebears—*καὶ αὐτὸς στοιχεῖν βουλόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἵχνεσιν ἐπιβαίνειν*, cf. *ib.* 929¹⁸ (ii/B.C.) *τῆς δὲ συνκλήτου στοιχοῦ[σης τῇ παρ' αὐ]τῇ πι[ρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώ]πους ὑπαρχούση δικαιοσύνη*.

στρατεύομαι.—On the question whether *σ.* must really refer to *active* service, see *Notes* ii, p. 120; but the remainder of the note there quoted from Grenfell and Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri* i. p. 47, makes the statement that the R.V. margin Luke iii. 14 is "unprovable" rather too strong. In BU 1127²⁸ (B.C. 18) *ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ τι στρατεύηται ὁ Ἀ. ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν παραχώρησιν*, Schubart notes that the meaning must be "Schwierigkeiten, Umstände machen," comparing 1130²⁰ (B.C. 17). This is rather like our phrase, "He has been in the wars." The use illustrates the large metaphorical application of the term in the New Testament. Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. xvii., has collected a number of passages on the "Salvation Army" in ancient times.

συγκλείω.—For *σ.* construed with *εἰς*, as in Rom. xi. 32, cf. *Syll.* 326¹⁸ (Rom.) *τοῦ καιροῦ συγκλείοντος εἰς χειμῶνα*.

συγκρίνω.—P Lille 1²⁷ (B.C. 259–8) *ὑστερον δὲ ἐπισκοπούμενος τὰ περίχωμα συνέκρινεν τὰ χρώματα ποῆσαι* "he decided," a sense which the verb has also in PFi 55³⁰ (A.D. 88[96]), 56^{7, 17} (A.D. 234). In PP II, p. [23]⁵ (B.C. 241–39) *καθότι συνεκρίθη ἐπὶ Λογβάσεως* the Ed. under-

stands "as has been *contended* in the court of Logbasis," "according to LXX use."

συγκυρία.—With Luke x. 31 *κατὰ συγκυρίαν* cf. TP 8 *κατά τινα συντυχίαν*.

συγχαίρω.—For the meaning "congratulate" which Lightfoot gives to this verb in Phil. ii. 17 (but see *contra* Kennedy *E. G. T.* ad loc.), we may compare the ironical usage in TbP 424⁵ (late iii/A.D.) *εἰ μὲν ἐπιμένεις σου τῇ ἀπονοίᾳ, συνχέρω σοι*, "if you persist in your folly I congratulate you" (Edd.). In BU 1080 (? iii/A.D.) a father writes to his son congratulating him on (*συνχαίρων ἐπὶ*) his happy marriage. *Syll.* 807⁵ (ii/A.D.) *συνχαιρομένου* illustrates the middle usage in Acts iii. 8 D : see *Proleg.* p. 161.

συζητέω.—For the New Testament sense of "dispute," as in Mk. viii. 11, cf. OP 532¹⁷ (ii/A.D.) *συνζητήσοντά σοι* "dispute with you about it" (Edd.)

σύζυγος.—We can produce no evidence for *σ.* as a proper name, though its use as such in Phil. iv. 3 seems probable : see Kennedy *ad loc.* For its use as an appellative Thieme (p. 32) cites the Magnesian *graffito* 328 (prob. i/A.D.) *σ]ύζυγοι Βαίβιος Κάλλιπος* : cf. 321.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

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